The American Scholar

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The American Scholar

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The Scholar's duties are such as become Man Thinking. They may all be comprised in self-trust. The office of the scholar is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amidst appearances. . . . For the ease and pleasure of treading the old road, accepting the fashions, the education, the religion of society, he takes the cross of making his own. . . . He is one who raises himself from private considerations and breathes and lives on public and illustrious thoughts. He is the world's eye. He is the world's heart. . . . Whatsoever oracles the human heart, in all emergencies, in all solemn hours, has uttered as its commentary on the world of actions, —these he shall receive and impart. And whatsoever new verdict Reason from her inviolable seat pronounces on the passing men and events of today,—this he shall hear and promulgate. . . . Free should the scholar be,—free and brave.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
From "The American Scholar."

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WALT WHITMAN

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Walt Whitman

HENRY NEUMANN
Leader, Brooklyn Society for Ethical Culture

IT is curious that in the very years when millions of Americans have been turned out to search vainly for work, one of the nation's best-sellers should have been a glorification of the democratic dream of prosperity for everybody, James Truslow Adams' *The Epic of America.* Much the same paradox confronts us in the utterances of Walt Whitman. He proclaimed himself prophet of the America yet to be: "I announce splendors and majesties to make all the previous politics of the earth insignificant." A day was to arrive "when through These States walk a hundred millions of superb persons." More than these numbers are here now. Are they so superb? Does Whitman voice only our adolescence? Or now that disillusion has come, how far may he still avail us?

He died in 1892. Following Turner, some historians like to point out that there is a special significance to the year 1890; for this was the year when the Census Report stated that now the free lands had practically all been taken up and that the frontier days of America were over. Walt Whitman hymns the America of that earlier age. *Leaves of Grass* sings the hopefulness of the plain man, sure that our country offers a chance for everybody. "America spells opportunity." Whitman accorded with Emerson heartily. But the land he loved has greatly changed. He heard America singing. Characteristically, the songs were those of mechanics. Henry Ford's employees are not exactly lyric; and the products of their hands clutter up what once was the open road for journeymen afoot and light-hearted. Today dismisses as too much like Pollyanna or Mrs. Eddy the mood of "I myself am good fortune!"

None of our writers surpassed Whitman in putting into music the spirit of the frontier. When he was a lad of fourteen the future Chicago was only the village around Fort Dearborn. For years afterwards, trans-Mississippi was a battleground against Indians. All the hardihood of the trail-builders, the restless adventurous manhood which pushed the frontiers clear out to the Pacific, find fitting ex-

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pression in "Pioneers, O Pioneers." But how much more than a memory are the Lewises and the Clarks now? Would any student of American character single out the independent self-assertion of that earlier time as salient in the conduct of today? Does mass production encourage the masses to be as resourceful as the settlers and pioneers were? Not all our machines by any count dwarf the individual. Automobiles, airplanes, locomotives, derricks, and steam-shovels give many a man a sense of power denied to men in the days of horses. But a much wider-spread assault upon individualistic self-affirmation has come from the growing tendency to do business through larger and larger units. The small tradesman who went more or less his own way and looked forward to being a power of his own in the land has become, if he is working at all, a subordinate employed by a big corporation; and prudence has taught him that it is better to say yes to the wishes of his superiors. Our abundant literature of revolt against standardization is not more eloquent on this topic than the facts themselves.

Whitman's America was a land of democratic friendliness to outsiders. With one or two exceptions, like the Know-Nothing episode, America on the whole was genially tolerant of the foreigners whom it invited to take up lands for themselves, toil upon our railroads or in our factories, or set up their own shops, "fifteen or twenty thousand in a week." Immigration is restricted now and likely to remain so, long after any recovery from the present depression.

He hoped that America would keep elected persons the servants they were expected to be. Even in his earlier day, such officers were frequently tempted to an audacity not consistent with their being chosen by a free people. There are circles today where the reading of Whitman's words on this subject is tantamount to treason. "Resist much, obey little!" State worship has come upon us. The World War merely heightened a tendency already encouraged by the growing complexity of our business, and in consequence, of our political life. Many eyes look longingly at Mussolini, others at Stalin. Neither kind of affectionate glance would have been so common in the years before our huge machinery of commerce had reduced so many self-assertive individuals to subordinates.

One other trait of the earlier America speaks notably in Whitman. That day was the time of the Jack-of-all-trades. Ours is an

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age of specialization. The machine age demands exactitude. Conservative farmers are now more convinced that professors in the agricultural colleges really know something that a dirt farmer can learn to his profit. Whitman spoke for a day that was beginning to apprehend this only after many scornful rejections or ignorings. Typical is his poem, "When I Heard the Learned Astronomer." The implication is that looking at the stars for himself, he could learn more than otherwise. To be self-taught is no doubt still good. But it would be scarcely American today to say that one's knowledge of astronomy can be little helped by the specialists on Mt. Wilson.

Whitman's democracy was likewise of the old, easy-going type. He was sure that a very simple remedy lay at hand for our troubles. It was comradeship. "Be not disheartened—affection shall solve the problems of freedom yet." But true as this is in a sense, more Americans are now persuaded that an addition of expert wisdom will certainly do no harm.

Finally, the man's whole style, we hear it said, stamps him of an age outgrown. It was as democratic as the legendary Andrew Jackson. Santayana objected (*Winds of Doctrine*, 203) to Whitman's carrying his democracy into psychology and morals: "The various sights, moods, and emotions are given each one vote; they are declared to be all free and equal, and the innumerable commonplace moments of life are suffered to speak like the others." The charge might be broadened to cover the phrasing too. Slovenly structures, ambiguities, infelicities of all sorts, were accorded as ready a hospitality as words more deserving of the permanence of print. Let 'em all come in. His repetitions and his catalogings are boring to an age enamored of speed; and if mere pace is no criterion, efficiency presents its claims. Vigor is not shouting at the top of one's lungs.

Such are the strictures in the name of modernity. They cannot be entirely silenced by the protests of Whitman's friends that their hero was much more prophetic of the new age than appears on the surface. They cite Masters, Sandburg, Lindsay, Oppenheim, a host of poets, whose verse owes much to the rebel of the earlier day. They point to editorials of his, protesting against censorship. They quote conversations recorded by Traubel in which Whitman declared himself practically socialistic. He objected to Shakespeare many years before George Bernard Shaw voted himself the superior. Traubel

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reports him thus in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, January 30, 1889: "Shakespeare stood for the glory of feudalism. . . . His gospel was of the mediæval—the gospel of the grand, the luxurious: great lords, ladies. . . . Feudalism has had its day: it has no measure for us." Many a paragraph in *Democratic Vistas* is hot against economic ills of which today is more conscious. But it is significant that these views are found in his prose and not in the poetry on which his chief claim to distinction rests. Was it because poetry is less fitted to voice rejections? Whatever the reason, his poems do in many respects utter the mood of an America very unlike the land we know.

Only, even when all this has been said, can we be so sure that Whitman is quite outmoded? Changing fashion may bring him back. Herman Melville, once ignored, is now honored and may again go. Whitman too may return. Loafing and inviting one's soul may be possible again when the technocrats give us all more leisure. And whatever the styles in books or recreations, some people will always love the outdoors and get a heightened joy from reading how a poet loved it. Lilacs will bloom in the door-yards. "The dusky green of the rye" will "ripple and shade in the breeze." Shores where winds blow and waves dash will attract; and so will piney woods or "where sundown shadows lengthen over the limitless and lonesome prairie." "Smile, Earth . . . for your lover comes!"

May it not be a mistake to judge a writer by his consonance with the temper of our own few decades? For poets there may be no better time than darkness to be singing of the dawn. When the Declaration of Independence was issued, its utterances were in flat contradiction to the realities of 1776. Women did not vote; property qualifications were required for male suffrage; religious tests were applied to office-holders and voters; names were listed in the order of the owner's wealth; negroes were held in slavery. Small wonder that even in a later day the document was called a tissue of glittering generalities. And yet Jefferson's words exercised an enormous power. More than once they served as rallying cries against the very conditions whose existence would have seemed to imply that the words were wholly futile. Great truths have this way of making their presence felt. If they do no more than haunt the hearer with a sense of the contradiction voiced by the actualities, is this little?

If the political document of 1776 was so effective, such poetry as

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Whitman's may in its own way prove to be more than a playing with words. The man was not a great thinker. But some truths he felt deeply. His writing is often atrocious; but some pages throb with a life which may continue to disturb many an American reader for who knows what years to come. It is for this reason that after all allowance has been made for the questionable side of Whitman's views and manner, what may be lasting contributions shine out.

The efficiency of our more settled and specialized life has become the grimmest joke, precisely because it has overlooked the very things which Whitman prized so passionately. He stood for Man, for men as individuals, persons to be respected each and every one in his own inherent dignity. Poet that he was, he saw around the head of everybody the halo once painted only around the saints. The outdoors filled him with perpetual wonder; but stop, he constantly bade us, and ponder this vaster miracle: "A man is a great thing upon the earth."

Every temptation abounds to rate people cheaply. Even if a new social order forbids economic exploitation, subtler ways of treating persons as means to our own ends remain; and sheer numbers alone, or routine familiarity, not to mention the grosser repugnances, may incline us to esteem human beings as such lightly. Then we shall hear Whitman challenging, "How dare you place anything before a man?" Or, with many a gentle reminder that others are no less human:

> Oh I could sing such grandeurs and glories about you!
> . . . . . .
> The mockeries are not you;
> Underneath them, and within them, I see you lurk.

Or else, whenever institutionalism of any kind threatens to look upon man as made for the Sabbath:

> All religion, all solid things, arts, governments,—all that was or is apparent upon this globe or any globe, falls into niches and corners before the procession of Souls along the grand roads of the universe.

This intuition of his was no carefully reasoned affair. Less than a century before, Immanuel Kant had affirmed the dignity of man

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per se, and had sought to make good so mighty an affirmation on rational grounds. Whitman (who, if he had any conscious philosophy at all, was nearer to Berkeley with his "Objects gross and the unseen Soul are one") was content to feel and to chant his feelings, without justifying them to the intellect. He was a man of large and unusual sympathies. He liked people just as human beings. Much as he loved the roar of rivers and of mountain winds, the beating of surf on the sands, or "the splendid silent sun, with all his beams full-dazzling," faces and eyes meant more to him. A look from the tan-faced prairie boy was "more than all the gifts of the world." An unfailing liking went out to deck-hands, conductors, canal-boys, pedlars, carpenters, printers turning their quids of tobacco.

He was enormously fond of himself, it is true. Episodes come to mind like printing his own reviews of *Leaves of Grass*, or spending on a costly mausoleum for himself, or satisfying his ego in verses ludicrous for their conceit. But all this did not keep him from giving his heart to others. To him men were men, even when they were social outcasts. His meal was "equally set"—"for the wicked just the same as the righteous," for felons and tramps, for persons unlovely with sickness bodily or moral.

> I reject no one; none can be interdicted;
> None but are accepted, none but shall be dear to me.

His deep sense that somehow every individual is of importance was strikingly shown in the work he did in the Civil War.

> Aroused and angry,
> I thought to beat the alarum, and urge relentless war;
> But soon my fingers fail'd me, my face droop'd, and I resign'd myself,
> To sit by the wounded and soothe them, or silently watch the dead.
>
> (*Drum Taps*)

Those ministrations to the wounded were made more effective than otherwise by the genuine fellow-feeling which his patients sensed in his presence. He seems to have been extraordinarily capable of emanating cheer and magnetism. No less significant is the fact that in all his poetry we get relatively little about the roll of musketry or cavalry charges. The Civil War in his poems is chiefly a matter of "keeping vigil on field with slain soldiers," dressing

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wounds, dirges for veterans, "come up from the fields, father, here's a letter from our Pete." "Word over all, beautiful as the sky" is "Reconciliation": "My enemy is dead, a man divine as myself is dead."

His compassion and his robust individualism sprang from the same soil, his feeling for something potentially great in man, a presence to be divined where it was not yet made flesh. What was weak in others he could understand without scorn; and what was strongest in them he could have himself. In one breath he could say, "Respect the wretch, for his wretchedness is in you too; stand up with the best, for their greatness is likewise yours." If the light of his vision often flickered, here at any rate its shining was clear.

Always this intimation of vast possibilities for men was strong in him. Without it his glorification of "the divine average" becomes nonsense. There is nothing awe-inspiring about being just average. His phrase was evoked by the unfulfilled potencies. And being common did not mean that all were to be alike. Inclined though he was to seek out the likenesses beneath the outer differences, he was no advocate of conformity. "Rich, luxuriant, varied personalism" was his plea. "I do not call the tortoise unworthy because she is somebody else." Whatever objections may be urged against his words on sex, it is well to remember that it took far greater courage to write them in his day than it does in 1933. Even Emerson, who at first acclaimed him, would not have gone all the way with him in his protests against censorship.

All this was inseparable from his love of America. His fervor for democracy was religious; for the grandest business of a republic was just this honoring the importance of individuals. He had foregleams of a certain immenser life for individuals under the leading of such a faith. "The vastness of America were monstrous without a corresponding vastness of spirit." Elbow-room, freedom, the largeness of outdoors—this hope of his for America was proclaimed in the very shape and texture of his verses.

If then he helps America at any time to achieve a truer self-awareness, his failure to accord with the temper of this or that decade takes nothing from his merit as a writer. Indeed a case might well be argued that the services of a poet are greater at precisely those points where he opposes the tendencies of the given hour. "What we be-

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lieve in, waits latent forever." Always, as we have said, there is the temptation to rate people *en masse* contemptuously. Today, in the demands for Fascism or for socialization in the interests of the workers, there is special peril that a genuine respect for persons as such may be shouted down. In such times, friends of robust democratic self-affirmation will find more than timeliness in those lines in "The Song of the Broad-Axe" picturing the life "where the great city stands."

That is, to judge Whitman as an economic or a moral philosopher, is to miss his more valuable offerings. He certainly cannot be called a thinker. Had he been a philosopher he would have been troubled by very obvious inconsistencies in his utterances. How, for instance, could he reconcile his glorification of man and his summons to nonconformity with his much-quoted praise of contented cows? He was aware that people are "stuffed with the stuff that is coarse, and stuffed with the stuff that is fine"; but he was not conspicuous for effort to distinguish the two. Like everybody else he had his varying moods; and he was too much the man of feeling to care about harmonizing these or interpreting them as a unity. Though Dante, Goethe, and in a lesser degree, Shelley, were able to transmute more or less coherent philosophies into living poetry, Whitman is not to be dismissed for his failure to achieve their consistency. His offering is of another kind.

Take him as a quickener. He has been as much hurt by admirers who read a "Cosmic Ego" into every dictate of his naïve self-love as Shakespeare was by the philosophers who gave transcendental interpretation to what was only good theater-craft. A poet is not obliged to make the ejaculations of a glad spring morning square with the reflections of an evening in December. It is for the reader himself to say which gives him the special stimulus he asks the poet to supply. Let Whitman in his own way "announce a life that shall be copious, vehement, spiritual, bold." When he declares, "I dilate you with tremendous breath," we may be inclined to smile, or dare him to execute his promise. We may on the other hand be stirred to fresh discontent with our present poverties, wincings, and sulky retreats; we may be moved to thinking in a new way about grander possibilities for our lives, single and collective. Any poet who can do this for us is, in more than a literary sense, creative.

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Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook

EMORY HOLLOWAY
Professor of English, Adelphi College

As his work proceeds every scholar finds that he is accumulating a mass of surplus material. It serves as background to his thought, but it seems never to fit into any book or article he is writing. Some of it is intelligible only to himself, but other bits of manuscript or information, though known only to few, would probably hold interest for other students if they were only made accessible to all. In this article I shall present a number of such items which I think will be welcomed by Whitman students, but which would otherwise lie buried in literary mausoleums. They come from various periods in the poet's life; they deal with a wide range of subjects; they employ more than one style. But it is hoped that novelty and variety will atone for such obvious want of coherence. The student of Whitman who has been privileged to rummage in the great Whitman collections of the country is tempted to think that Walt never destroyed anything. This treasuring of all too well considered trifles may at times have hurt his reputation, but it was at least consistent with his idea that "all that a person does or thinks is of consequence" in the shaping of his character. Notations of the sort which follow, if taken for what they are, will, I think, do something toward rounding out the picture of the poet.

It is well known that Frank Norris once planned to write a great epic on the battle of Gettysburg. It is curious to find Walt Whitman, faithful reporter of the human side of the Civil War, contemplating a poem on the same battle. The poem was never written; indeed, it was probably never even blocked out, for the manuscript which alludes to it appears to be a notation on General Hancock's obituary, in 1886, four years before Whitman's own death. Reading the article on the death of General Hancock, Whitman made a note in the margin to write a poem "on the theme of the great charge and repulse of the Secesh 20,000 strong under [Pickett] July 3, 1863,

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at Gettysburg." He marked the following passage in the clipping, doubtless intending to make use of it in the poem:

> July 3d, the troops under General Hancock received and repulsed the grand assault made by Lee on our line by a column of the enemy, 18,000 strong. This was one of the most desperate and bloody assaults made during the war, and its repulse decided the battle of Gettysburg in our favor. *The enemy retreated that night.* Five thousand prisoners, 37 colors, and many thousand stands of small arms were captured by our troops.

General Winfield Scott Hancock had been in command of the First Division of the Second Corps at Fredericksburg, a battle in which Whitman's brother George was wounded. Since Walt spent about two weeks in camp with his brother just after this battle he may have met the general. In any case he must have heard much about him. He was one of the few military leaders (Sheridan and Grant were others) who stood out in Whitman's memory long afterwards. In 1888 he said to Traubel: "The war brought out a lot of ability of its own kind. There was Hancock: Hancock was not as distinctively individual as Sheridan but he was nevertheless a splendid soldier—a soldier born, rarely bettered upon."

Of late it has been common to classify Whitman as a "romantic," as if that definitely placed him in the mid-nineteenth century. But his reporting of the war was as naturalistic as *The Red Badge of Courage*. He had imagination, but it was not directed to the spectacular in battles or in men. The military genius, as such, interested Whitman less than the personal qualities which enabled the commander to be a leader of men. In other words, he did not cease to be a democrat as he watched the autocracy of armies. In another fragment of manuscript[1] I find a tribute to General Hugh J. Kilpatrick. Whitman's knowledge of Kilpatrick came to him from the wounded cavalrymen under the General's command, whom the "wound-dresser" had cared for in the Washington hospitals. On October 13, 1863, he wrote to his mother:

> There is a new lot of wounded now again . . . I have to bustle around, to keep from crying—they are such rugged young men—all these just ar-

[1] Unless otherwise noted, the manuscripts mentioned in this article are in the collection of Dr. Samuel W. Bandler, of New York, by whose kind permission they are reproduced.

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rived are cavalry men. Our troops got the worst of it, but fought like devils. Our men engaged were Kilpatrick's Cavalry. They were in the rear as part of Meade's retreat, and the Reb cavalry cut in between and cut them off and attacked and shelled them terribly. But Kilpatrick brought them out mostly—this was last Sunday.

Whitman selected this passage to include in an article for the *Century* in October 1888, and had used a variation of the incident in the *North American Review* for January 1887, both passages being preserved in his *Complete Prose*. The manuscript above mentioned will show why Kilpatrick was singled out for such repeated eulogy:

Ask any of Kilpatrick's old horse the 2d New York, if they were ever afraid as long as he was with them.— What would they not do—sometimes two weeks without unsaddling—what matter where or how they rode or lay, or fought or turned, or slept or rode again while he was with them.— Through unknown roads, or in most dangerous fix, even surrounded, who cared or doubted as long as that live head was with them? They love him too, for always while he rides among them, he rides and shows he knows himself a man, and shows he knows each one of them a man as well. This, this the soldier loves. An officer, brave and wary & who does not forget that the young soldier in the ranks is proud & free of friendship & every bit as good as an officer.

To the democratic Whitman, celebrator of the religion of friendship, the real hero of the war was the Unknown Soldier. He not only bore the brunt of the fighting, but it was for him that the war was fought. With few exceptions, Whitman celebrated neither generals nor victories, either in poetry or in prose; even in his lament for the martyred Lincoln he is careful to make him a symbol of countless martyrdoms. In another torn manuscript he puts it thus:

The expression of Am[erican nati]onality through this war is not to be looked for in the great campaigns, the battle fights. It is to be looked for just as much, (& in some respects more,) in the hospitals, among the wounded. The looks, manners, & fortitude of the men, with their decorum, religious nature, affection, &c.

In another manuscript which I quote by the kind permission of Mr. Alfred F. Goldsmith, the owner, Whitman says that "the war

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& triumph depended on Abraham Lincoln & on the masses of the people."

The decision of the whole of this fierce & varied contest by which the direct & indirect fortunes of humanity through future times were to be decided lay folded in two [questions]—whether the executive power, representing American Nationality—should take & hold his course with inflexible faith & steadiness . . . & whether the people by their majority & will, should encourage and back him up,—come what might. . . .

These conditions were supplied one of them by Abraham Lincoln, & the other by the mass of the American people, as represented by the average of the native American young men, (with a sprinkling of the middle-aged). This average came mainly from the agricultural regions of the States, & quite a proportion also from the classes of working men of the cities. I say these two facts settled the war, settled its prosecution, its steady prosecution through storm & defeats, through the wily treachery of a minority at the north itself, through the combined enmity of all foreign powers without a single exception—& settled finally our triumph. I say also that without either of these two, it is almost certain that the war would neither have been persevered in nor would we have triumphed.

Another Bandler manuscript indicates Whitman's amazement at the "incredible docility & obedience of the American soldier (in battle & in hospitals)." Even before the war he had written,

Of obedience, faith, adhesiveness;
As I stand aloof and look there is to me something profoundly affecting in large masses of men following the lead of those who do not believe in men.

So Lincoln Steffens felt when he saw the masses of party heelers following bosses who betrayed them. To Whitman, looking upon the soldier as a personal friend, treating each with the solicitude of a parent, the officiousness of shoulder-straps, the brainless and inefficient tyranny of red tape seemed to call for something other than timid obedience. To throw his own personal type of ministration into relief against that of the organized and official agencies, I quote from a letter written to him by one of the wounded boys in 1863.

I got an order from the chaplain yesterday to get two shirts from the Christian Commission. . . . I told them that they were just the kind that I wanted—but they told me that they were layed out for distribution among

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the different camps through the city. So I got none of them, & I was mad enough to, after walking up there three times and then get nothing, (the Relief Asso may be a very nice thing *but I cant see it* for I never got anything from them yet.— You have given me more than all of the rest put together so you are the relief asso. that I, as well as all the rest of the boys, like best).

In another place Whitman jotted down in a memorandum, probably for what he planned to call "Sequella to Specimen Days," his intention to "give phrases, names, despairing sentiments on the walls of hospitals." This was suggested to him by a newspaper clipping announcing a little nineteen-page pamphlet issued at Richmond, "Walls that Talk; a Transcript of the Names, Initials and Sentiments, Written and Graven on the Walls, Doors, and Windows of the Libby Prison at Richmond by the Prisoners of 1861–65." This no doubt struck Whitman with force because his brother had been captured in the fighting about Petersburg and "pass'd four or five months in secesh military prisons, narrowly escaping with life, from a severe fever, from starvation and half-nakedness in the winter."

Nevertheless Whitman ministered to the Southern boys as generously as to the Northern, and paid them equally high tributes for their bravery and loyalty. I find a scrap of ancient manuscript, apparently the first draft of a speech to be delivered on some unknown occasion long after the war, in which he expresses a strong love for the South. The underlying idea of the speech was "that emotional and personal relations are deeper than political ones."

I know not how others may feel but to me the South—the old true South, & its succession & presentation the new true South after all of today, Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia—it is yet inexpressibly dear.— Tonight I would say one word for that South—the whites. I do not wish to say one word against the blacks—but the blacks can never be to me what the whites are.

Below all political relations even the deepest, are still the deeper personal physiological and emotional ones. The whites are my brothers, & I love them.

This inclusive affection was quite consistent with Whitman's support of the Union cause in the great conflict, for he blamed the people of the South less than he did their leaders for throwing down the gage of battle. It may be said that the war, more than any other

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event, caused Whitman to develop his idea of the "average man" as the proper concern of the state, and of "adhesiveness" as the true "cement of democracy" rather than a purely personal emotion. Still another manuscript reads:

As Democracy and Science in the Modern [World] have an entire lack of what in Greece & Rome was furnished by reverence for the Gods—as yet in most half civilized current country [countries]—or, under the feudal ages by loyalty, deference, caste, now unknown—*the future must substitute it by a new feeling* a profound & tender enthusiasm for the people, & especially for the poorer & less favored & educated masses.— This must take the place of Jupiter & the gods—of the feudal tie which made every retainer welcome death itself for his lord's or King's sake.

This rough private memorandum seems so modern I have not allowed its faulty English to tempt me to withhold it. A Russian might have written it yesterday.

This emphasis on the sacred importance of personality Whitman carried into literature as well as into politics and religion. I find a very early admonition to himself, jotted down and emphasized with a fist apparently in the period when he was six times rewriting the First Edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

To change the book—go over the whole with great care—to make it more intensely the poem of *Individuality*—addressed more *distinctly to the single personality listening to it*—ruling out, perhaps, some parts that stand in the way of this—cull out the egot[istic] somewhat.

This consciousness of the reader, this golden rule of writing, lies behind both the directness and the suggestiveness of modern books. For it makes of the reader a collaborator, and reminds him of the wealth of his own unused experience. Emerson had the knack of it; only, where Whitman speaks of the Soul he speaks more characteristically of the Over-Soul. One of the most interesting manuscripts I have to present is an essay on the soul, written, I take it, before 1855, for one sentence in it reappeared in the preface to the First Edition, of that year.

Do you know what mu[sic] does to the soul?— Do you suppose that the mere melody of those instruments—sad and sobbing as some human creature —the cornet, that puts the call of daylight and the laugh of hope into

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voice, and spreads its utterance around like a shower—the organ, president over the rest,[2] representing and embodying them, serious and large, from respect of whom all keep still and know in that presence their best feats would be an impertinence—the brass band whose drums cry All-alive! and wake up sleepers from their bedrooms in the brain[3] and put coals of spunk in the flimsiest tinder rags of cowards— Do you suppose that in these, touched by the fine players of the world, are the primary music of the feelings?— No; there is something else.—[4] This something is in the Soul and eludes description.— No substantive or noun, no figure or phonograph[5] or image, stands for the beautiful mystery. I can only tell you of it as one might tell who reaches his neck at night and looks and far over seas looks after the headland of the morning up at the stars.[6]

The Soul of Man has within itself the vitality of all that is harmonious or pleasant. Those physical or moral emanations whose attributes we call Beauty and Virtue and Pride and such like, possess little or nothing inherently [here a now undecipherable line replaced the following, which had been struck out]: All forms of existence are but unspeakably great as the feet and fingers of the Soul.[7]

The reason that any thing pleases the Soul, is that it finds its relation there, yet awakes it and the twain kiss each other yet only the Soul burns; the other is impotent.—[8] Man can [not(?)] suffer or enjoy except in the limits of his individual being; and nothing really enjoys or suffers except the Soul.— The rest are as apples and rice and fish which soothe and gratify the appetite; yet what are they in themselves?

How gladly does the Soul welcome all that seeks it.— How it runs to the windows like a beautiful woman whose lover comes to sleep with her that

[2] Compare "Proud Music of the Storm":

> Now the great organ sounds,
> . . . . . .
> The strong base stands, and its pulsations intermit not,
> Bathing, supporting, merging all the rest, maternity of all the rest,
> And with it every instrument in multitudes. . . .

[3] Compare a later use of the figure in "Beat! Beat! Drums!"

[4] In "A Song for Occupations" (1855) Whitman wrote:

> All music is what awakes from you when you are reminded by the instruments,
> It is not the violins and the cornets, it is not the oboe nor the beating drums, nor the score of the baritone singer singing his sweet romanza, nor that of the men's chorus, nor that of the women's chorus,
> It is nearer and farther than they.

[5] Phonogram. Could Whitman have foreseen Edison he might have been more careful in his use of the word.

[6] This strained figure indicates how the young poet is striving to suggest the ineffability of mystical experience.

[7] Saluting the sights of the harbor, in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," as "dumb, beautiful ministers," Whitman concludes,

> You furnish your parts toward eternity,
> Great or small, you furnish your parts toward the soul.

[8] Compare this passage from the Preface to the First Edition: "Folks expect of the poet to indicate more than the beauty and dignity which always attach to dumb real objects . . . they expect him to indicate the path between reality and their souls."

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night.—[9] Music, the most spiritual of sensuous enjoyments gives it some faint sign of the harmony and measure that are of its essence; as a good part of the Soul is that which we incompletely describe by [three lines blank].

The only test of the virtue or excellency of any thing is that it pleases the Soul.— Whatever thoroughly satisfies the Soul is Truth.—[10]

O, theologian, come not to argue with me about God; I can yet comprehend nothing so tremendous as my own soul. I am awed even by its work —by the art and cunning of some fine instrument used in the discoveries of astronomy.— At the huge fact of worlds revolving around their suns—[11]

Cipher it by any rule we will, and then rub all out and work the problem over again, and again, till our eyes blur, we get but one unvarying product, that the Human Soul you yourself, by its innate tests, must be the judge and standard of God.—[12] Heave for soundings over the whole sea, the lead hits hard bottom here, if nowhere else.— Whatever the litigation, whatever the cause to be argued, or the knot untied, this is the bar of appeals, the supreme court.

The greater the dominance of machines, the more numerous the forces tending to regiment our minds and feelings, the more precious becomes Whitman's sturdy championship of individuality, nurtured in pride and sympathy. In another manuscript before me, after admitting that "Americans are charged with brag and vanity," he declares that, on the contrary, there are few who realize the

dominant and leading part The States are henceforth to play & are already playing in the entire [scheme] of human progress, stretching through time. It seems as though the past, for ten-thousand years, in Asia and Europe, through all the oriental and feudal ages, had [has] been but a series of successive evolutions, steadily leading on and on to culminate here. To us today seems to be entrusted, not only the welfare of generations to come, but in a profound sense the proof & fruit of the entire Humanity that has preceded us.

[9] Compare "Song of Myself," Section 26, variorum reading; also "The Sleepers," Section 1.

[10] "Whatever satisfies the soul is truth." Preface to 1855 Edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

[11] Another early manuscript gives, for Section 49 of "Song of Myself,"

> Of God I know not;
> But this I know;
> I can comprehend no being more wonderful than man.

Also in the 1855 Preface: "In the talk on the soul and eternity and God off of his equal plane he [the poet] is silent."

[12] Compare "A Song for Occupations," 1855:

> We consider bibles and religions divine—I do not say they are not divine,
> I say they have all grown out of you, and may grow out of you still,
> It is not they who give the life, it is you who give the life.

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This exhibition of democratic confidence was to have been followed by Section 3 from "As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free."

On a stray scrap of Whitman manuscript I found this memorandum: "Carlyle vol. 1, pp. 450–51. Carlyle's sort of summing-up of the genius of Richter is singularly applicable to W. W.— See also last sentence on p. 468 vol 1." Curious to know what had so struck Whitman in Carlyle, and therefore, what he thought of his own genius, I sought an edition of Carlyle which would give the Richter essay on the proper pages to agree with the memorandum. It is the *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, Houghton Mifflin edition, 1881, 4 volumes in 2. The first passage referred to is as follows:

To characterize these works would be difficult after the fullest inspection: to describe them to English readers would be next to impossible. Whether poetical, philosophical, didactic, or fantastic, they seem all to be emblems, more or less complete, of the singular mind where they originated. As a whole, the first perusal of them, more particularly to a foreigner, is almost infallibly offensive; and neither their meaning, nor their no-meaning, is to be discerned without long and sedulous study. They are a tropical wilderness, full of endless tortuosities; but with the fairest flowers, and the coolest fountains; now overarching us with high umbrageous gloom, now opening in long gorgeous vistas. We wander through them enjoying their wild grandeur; and by degrees, our half-contemptuous wonder at the Author passes into reverence and love. His face was long hid from us: but we see him at length, in the firm shape of spiritual manhood, a vast and most singular nature, but vindicating his singular nature by the force, the beauty and benignity which pervade it. In fine, we joyfully accept him for what he is, and was meant to be. The graces, the polish, the sprightly elegances which belong to men of lighter make, we cannot look for or demand from him. His movement is essentially slow and cumbrous, for he advances not with one faculty, but with a whole mind; with intellect, and pathos, and wit, and humor, and imagination, moving onward like a mighty host, motley, ponderous, irregular and irresistible. He is not airy, sparkling and precise; but deep, billowy and vast. The melody of his nature is not expressed in common note-marks, or written down by the critical gamut; for it is wild and manifold; its voice is like the voice of cataracts and the sounding of primeval forests. To feeble ears it is discord, but to ears that understand it deep majestic music.

The other passage is from the essay on Goethe:

For the rest, if it seem that I advocate this cause too warmly; that

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Goethe's genius, whether it be good or bad, is in truth a very small concern to us, I may be allowed to remind my readers, that the existence or non-existence of a Poet for the World in our own time, of a new Instructor and Preacher of Truth to all men, is really a question of more importance to us than many that are agitated with far greater noise.

Whitman knew that the poet should be "the august master of beauty," and was ever on guard against being merely literary. A stray bit of manuscript contains this sentence: "The tendency permitted to Literature has always been and now is to magnify & intensify its own tectnism, to isolate itself from general & vulgar life, & to make a caste or order."

My last quotation is a draft for one of the little notes about himself that he was in the habit of sending to friendly editors to keep the public in mind that a "Poet for the World" dwelt among them. But he also knew that this poet to be winsome must be human. He might be Richter and Goethe rolled in one, but he would picture himself telling stories to children.

Under *Personal* (? Men & Things) head—any day
Walt Whitman still remains in St. Louis, Missouri, his health quite infirm. When he gets out, there are two different ways he is fond of spending an hour. One is to go down and loafe on the East St. Louis Bridge: the other is to visit a neighboring kindergarten, where he is sure to be received tumultuously by the children, always telling them a story, "The Two Cats Taking a Walk," or something of that kind.

This was while visiting his brother Jeff, en route to Colorado in 1879.

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Zionism and the American Jew

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WHAT does Zionism mean to the American Jew? What can be his relation to this movement centered as it is on a tiny, barren country far from his own fertile shores? Does he pour effort and hope into it or does he fear and discourage it? How is it that Zionism has come to be such a potent force in Jewish life in this country today?

Modern political Zionism, created by the Viennese journalist Theodor Herzl, was a distinct reaction to the Dreyfus case of 1894. Hermann Bahr, the Austrian dramatist, who had often discussed the subject with Herzl, gives this account of the origin of Herzl's Jewish nationalism:

> He was an eye-witness of the cruel and historic ceremony when Captain Dreyfus was stripped of his insignia, and degraded from his rank, prior to his deportation to Devil's Island. The majority of the public was convinced that Dreyfus was guilty; and Herzl was convinced among others. And yet the brutality of the ceremony made a strange impression on him. . . . When the performance was over, when the traitor had been led away, and while the faces of the dispersing throng still glowed with happy excitement, Herzl turned . . . to one of his colleagues of the press. "Why are they so delighted? The traitor deserved his fate, and he received no more punishment than he merited. But how can they find such intense joy in the suffering of a human being? Granted he is a traitor—but a traitor is still a man." His colleague replied: "No, the French do not feel that he is a man. They see him not as a human being but as a Jew. Christian compassion ends before it reaches the Jew. It is unjust—but we cannot change it. It has always been so, and it will be so for ever." It was at this moment that Herzl's Zionism was born.

He probably reasoned that if the French people, one of the most cultured and liberal of Europe, the first people to emancipate Jewry, would not accept the Jew into their spiritual fraternity of citizenship there was little hope for the Jew in any land. Moved, therefore, by the conviction that the Jew was rejected by his environment, he ap-

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pealed in 1896 to world Jewry in the pamphlet, the *Jewish State*, to rally around him and to create a national home.

His call found his people in a receptive mood. Western European Jewry had now been trying for three generations, since the beginnings of its emancipation, to adjust itself in every respect to the cultural pattern of its native lands. In its feverish enthusiasm its political devotion often assumed a chauvinistic hue. Because it recognized no higher loyalty than devotion to that state which had brought it freedom from the old restrictions, nationalism became almost an instinct. Yet the rising anti-Semitic movement questioned the sincerity of the Jew, in spite of the fact that he had sacrificed practices for which his fathers, only a century or two earlier, had gone to the stake. On the one side of the Rhine, in Germany, Ahlwardt was accusing the Jewish munition manufacturers of betraying Germany to the French, while on the other side, in France, Drumont was denouncing the un-Jewish Dreyfus as a Jewish traitor who had betrayed the army to the Germans. Many western European Jews were completely identified with the nationalism of their land of birth, yet they were dismayed by the consciousness that their country would never forgive them for having been born Jews. In eastern Europe Jewish nationalism was nothing new; in the Russian Pale of Settlement the penned-in masses had always been granted national or "minority rights," a hang-over from the medieval class-state. The increasing severity of the political and economic disabilities imposed by the Russian bureaucracy, and finally the wholesale massacres beginning in the 80's, merely served to bring to a climax the hopes of the religiously-minded masses for a way out, for a Messianic revelation, as it were. It was nothing new for Jews to cherish such expectations. They had listened to scores of "redeemers" since Jesus had preached in the days of the iron-fisted procurators.

It was at that moment, when Russian Jewry was distraught and when western European Jewry was spiritually dejected, that Herzl published his *Jewish State*. It was not a great book, but it fired the imagination of thousands and rallied a band of devoted followers around this fascinating man. The first Zionist Congress soon assembled in Basel, and there in August 1897 formulated its political program: "Zionism aims at establishing a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine for the Jewish people."

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Up to the World War Zionists had accomplished little in Palestine; in the Diaspora they carried on a vigorous propaganda. Then, early in November 1917, when the Allied cause looked hopeless, the British, in a very ambiguous statement, announced that they viewed "with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." This was the Balfour Declaration. It was motivated by a curious jumble of traditional English interest in the "seed of the Messiah," by a sense of justice, and above all by political expediency. The British government practically offered a land which it did not yet possess in exchange for international Jewish support —which never existed. Later the land was won and the League of Nations gave world sanction to the creation of a Jewish homeland under the supervision of the British government. In August 1929 the World Zionist Organization, which until then had been the recognized agency for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, was "extended" to include many non-Zionist Jews all over the world. But the Jewish Agency as a world union of Zionists and non-Zionists has been a failure; the Zionists within it, almost exclusively, have been responsible for the enthusiasm and the work.

America and the American Jew have done a great deal to further the Zionist cause. Woodrow Wilson, on the advice of his Jewish friends, encouraged the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, and Congress, in May–June 1922, passed resolutions expressing its approval of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. American Jewry has supplied the bulk of the monies for the building up of the land, and has sent over technicians, experts, and a few leaders. Nevertheless it is by no means indispensable to the movement, and though it is the largest Jewish group in the world its defection would not be calamitous.

There are many in the United States, however, who believe that Zionism is indispensable to the American Jew. Many, but certainly not all. For the sake of convenience, Jews in this land may be divided into two groups: the so-called Germans, for the most part immigrants from the Germanic lands, who came to these shores from 1830 to 1870; and the eastern Europeans, who came here from 1870 until 1924 when the Johnson-Lodge immigration bill went into force. The Germans—many of whom are natives of the third generation—are on the whole, and for varied reasons, definitely opposed

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to Zionism. They assert its impracticability, pointing out the known poverty of Palestine, its almost complete lack of natural resources, and its occupation by an overwhelming majority of nationally and religiously conscious Moslem Arabs. They point to the tacit threat of the great sea of Moslems in the hinterland which stretches from Turkey, through Asia Minor and Egypt, on east into India, and even farther. And, because of religious reasons, they look with disfavor on the movement, for many of the older settlers, followers of the Reform movement in Judaism, emphasize the universalistic aspect of their creed. Nationalism, they believe, is a step backward, a flouting of the highest humanitarian ideals of the prophets of Israel. Because of its secular tendencies and because it refuses to ally itself with any one party in Judaism, they have been quick to reject it. They believe that there is no religious future for Jewry in that little pocket of valleys and hills on the fringe of the great Arabian desert. On the contrary, they feel strongly that the world at large is Israel's field wherein it may spiritualize itself and impress the prophetic truths on the nations of the earth.

Zionists, for over a generation, have poked fun at this Reform Jewish "mission" theory of Israel's destiny—and unjustly. For not only is this concept as old as the Diaspora and its Hellenistic apologetic literature, but, in slightly different form, it is found in the teachings of Asher Ginzberg, the founder of cultural Zionism, and in the writings of some of the more notable Zionist ideologists, who look upon Jewish nationalism not as an end in itself but as an opportunity to evolve the highest possible expression of a socialized, ethical living-together. Yet in practical Zionism the motif of influencing the world by example is subordinated to the immediate problems of distressed Jewry. The stand of the Reform Jew who objects to Zionism because it must needs stress nationalism is indeed most valid, and raises the controversy to a very high plane. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that this high stand is somewhat vitiated by the fact that many American Jews who most earnestly deprecate Jewish nationalism because it is nationalism, most earnestly advocate a type of American patriotism that falls little short of chauvinism.

There are others, too, who reject Zionism because they think it lays them open to the charge of "dual loyalty." No Jew, they believe, can be an American citizen and at the same time work for the crea-

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tion of a Jewish state. They readily admit that a man may be a loyal Irish-American, and yet work for the furtherance of the Irish Free State, but they refuse to apply this analogy to the Jew. The reasons for their dread of the accusation of a divided loyalty are, I believe, not difficult to analyze. Civil and political liberties have been granted to Central European Jews only since the 60's and 70's of the last century. Many of the German immigrants, therefore, had their first taste of civil liberties in this land. Many of them who were attracted to the shores of America to enjoy these liberties have never forgotten that in Europe they had been treated as aliens whose devotion to the state was questioned by the conservative press. The consciousness of gratitude to America for the freedom it gave them, added to the haunting dread of the reproach of being aliens, has made them very sensitive about their American political loyalties, and quick to resent the imputation—never made here—that their political loyalties are somewhere else.

Furthermore many of the older settlers look askance at Zionism because it is not yet socially "respectable." It is for the most part the movement of the later, the eastern European migration, of the Jewish proletariat and the petty shopkeepers, many of whom have not yet become adept in American manners and mannerisms. Of course there are Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Julian Mack, the Strausses of New York, and a number of leading Reform rabbis who are Zionists, but they are notable exceptions. The indifference, even hostility, of the older settlers is regrettable. Reform Jewry would certainly benefit from the intense Jewish enthusiasm that Zionism engenders; Zionism on the other hand is sadly in need of the support of this sturdy, clear-sighted, and responsible group in American life, a group that in its own quiet way is devoted to Jewish ideals and has done a great deal to bear the financial load of Jewish institutions down to the present day.

Likewise quite a number of the eastern European orthodox object to Zionism, but solely on religious grounds. They are opposed to political Zionism because they believe that when God wishes to restore Israel He will do so in His own way; His hand need not be forced. Thus they cannot accept a program of Jewish life that is not avowedly pledged to the principles of traditional orthodoxy.

Not all the observant orthodox here have had the courage to main-

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tain this attitude of intransigence. Their love for Palestine is too intense, too real. They have thrown themselves heart and soul into the struggle for the rebuilding of the Holy Land, but are attempting to counteract the modernistic secular tendencies of the Zionist organization by creating, for one thing, a system of parochial schools, in which orthodoxy prevails. They have consistently set themselves against the secular tendencies of Jewish nationalism and hope to impress their conservative religious spirit on all the social and political institutions in the new State. They call themselves the *Mizrahi*, those who look "eastward" to a "spiritual center" where a new Jewish life will arise on the old foundations of rabbinic law and authority.

The Jewish working-class, concentrated almost solely in the large cities of the Atlantic coast, particularly in New York, are for the most part out of sympathy with Zionism. They are completely dominated by concepts of socialism, have no religious interests, and look upon this new Jewish activity as a form of political reaction. In their opposition to its stress on nationalism they are at one with the older Jewish settlers, who have rejected the movement on political and religious grounds. Their urge for idealistic expression spends itself in the struggle of the liberal and radical political parties for recognition in American life. But like the orthodox, many of the trade-unionists also, the *Poale Zion* (Workers of Zion), have been unable to resist the romantic appeal of the Holy Land, and have created a synthesis of nationalism and internationalism, thus effecting a harmony between Zionism and socialism. They seek to create an ideal socialistic state in Palestine on a national background, a state that will, through its exemplary form, exert an influence on the capitalistic lands of the West.

Though it is difficult to speak with accuracy, it is nevertheless fair to assume that most of the new immigrants in this land are heartily in sympathy with the ideal of the restoration of the Jewish state. They may not support it actively—the actual paying membership of the Zionist Organization of America does not exceed 65,000—but they are definitely in sympathy with the cause, and the ideal itself exercises a strong influence on their lives. The emotional and intellectual power of this movement of national renascence cannot be measured by the number of its contributing members. Of the three forces which have indelibly impressed themselves on American Jew-

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ish life during the last generation—religious change, political and economic liberalism, and Jewish nationalism—the last is by far the most potent.

Why should a movement to create a "politically and legally assured home in Palestine" be popular with hundreds and thousands of Jewish citizens in this free land, members of a group to which Washington in 1790 could write:

> The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy: a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

With such a charter of liberties why should any people even think of rebuilding its old homeland? As a matter of fact the average Zionist, in this land at least, has no desire to return to the land of his fathers. Even if the masses here wished to go they could not. Palestine, this side of the Jordan, even under the most favorable circumstances, could never support more than a million and a half or two million people; there are already over a million Arabs and Jews there now, and there are over four million Jews alone in this land. But Palestine can serve as a place of refuge for hundreds and thousands who sorely need it, argues the Zionist. There is obviously a Jewish Problem, the problem of finding a home for those Jews in all lands who are "unassorted," who are nationally maladjusted, who are physically downtrodden, who have not had the opportunity to "exercise their inherent natural rights," as Washington was pleased to put it. There is a need for such a home in this year of grace and the American Zionist has set out to do what lies in his power to open Palestine for settlement to the Jew. There is no other land open to him throughout the world today except Biro-Bidjan, communistic Siberia. The following captions, picked at random from the various issues of *The Jewish Daily Bulletin* of the month of January 1933,

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may indicate why many American Jews still think it necessary to create a state somewhere where Jews will be admitted "as of right":

Jan. 6. Harbin, China. White Russians suspected of murder of Jewish president of Jewish community of Harbin.

Jan. 6. Berlin. The blood ritual murder accusation levelled against the Jews of Rastenberg by a Nazi organ took a further turn today with the arrest of a Christian butcher, Popp, who was charged with the murder of an eight-year-old Christian child, Benno Haffke.

Jan. 13. Bucharest. Deputy Michael Landau, Jewish representative of the Roumanian parliament, yesterday announced that he will again press for parliamentary investigation into the shooting on January 8, 1932, of five young Jews, two of them girls, by Roumanian frontier guards at Soroca.

Jan. 14. Warsaw. Warsaw anatomic institute closed; fear troubles as Jewish students barred by authorities.

Jan. 18. London. An American Jewish sailor, Abraham Epstein, as a result of the Jew-baiting and persecution to which he had been subjected by his shipmates, jumped overboard from an American ship on which he served.

Jan. 20. Berlin. Nazis demand Prussian Diet enact *numerus clausus* law limiting Jewish lawyers. Would permit one Jew to practice for 100 non-Jewish [lawyers?].

Jan. 20. Salonica. Vassil Missolonghitis, one of the publishers of *Makedonika Nea,* gets 30 days for anti-Semitic series. . . . The Minister of War, General Kondylis, is reported to be the paper's owner.

And January 1933 was a relatively quiet month.

But the American Jew is interested in Palestine not only for what it can do for others, but for what it can do for him. Thus there is a considerable proportion of Zionists who, in spite of their devotion to American political institutions, wish to see Jewry become a people "like all the nations." They want all the paraphernalia of a nation simply in order to have the inner satisfaction of "belonging" in the world which they conceive of as a commonwealth of nations. Nationalism betokens respectable conformity, normalcy. They believe, too, that with a Jewish state behind them they will for the first time be accepted completely as citizens, without the mental and emotional reservations of which they often suspect their fellow Americans. If the Jews had a common land, they think, Jewish citizens in their respective lands would never again be suspected of being aliens.

Another reason for seeking a Jewish state abroad is that the existence of a such a state, even though remote, helps one become adapted

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to a not altogether friendly environment. Identification with Palestine invests one with the dignity and pride needed to cope with the discrimination one occasionally experiences in this country, for it is a fact that social and economic disabilities have played their part in predisposing many Jews to a Jewish nationalism. Although there are many individuals who deny that they have ever suffered as Jews, they do not represent the entire Jewish experience. The need for a series of Jewish defensive leagues since 1859, and the details of generous annual reports, will lead the historian to believe that the Jewish status in this land is not yet ideal. It is fairly obvious that there is something of a Jewish problem in this country, also, for foreign publicists are agreed that social discrimination is probably stronger here than in some of the anti-Semitic lands of Europe. Many hotels, clubs, schools, apartment houses, and residential sections are closed to Jews. Social discrimination is an old story here; it became notorious in 1877 when Judge Hilton closed the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs to Joseph Seligman, the banker who once declined the post of secretary of the treasury in the Grant Administration. Since the War and the present economic depression a definitely increasing prejudice against the employment of Jews has expressed itself in a variety of ways. Even more so than in the past, it is believed that now banks, insurance companies, railroads, public service corporations, and basic industries refuse to employ Jews. There is a growing discrimination against the employment of Jews as clerical assistants. In the smaller towns Jewish men and women are unduly limited in the teaching profession in the primary and secondary schools, and even in the state and municipal colleges and in the larger semi-public, nationally known universities the percentage of Jewish instructors is effectively though unobtrusively limited. It is notorious that many professional schools, particularly medical colleges, will admit only a certain percentage of Jews. Hundreds of rejected candidates, Americans, have been compelled to go to Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, and in some of these places, too, they are experiencing difficulties because they are Jews. Dean Shaler of Harvard in his essay on the "Hebrew Problem" in *The Neighbor* was already concerned about the social discrimination against Jewish students. This was in 1904. Eighteen years later the Jews had become such a problem to this university that President Lowell went so far as to suggest

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that "if every college in the country would take a limited proportion of Jews, I suspect we should go a long way toward eliminating race feeling among the students, and, as these students passed out into the world, eliminating it in a community." His suggestion, no doubt, was kindly meant, but it came as a terrific shock to every American Jew. The details of discrimination in commercial, industrial, and professional life today may be found in Heywood Broun's and George Britt's *Christians Only*. It is not pleasant reading. One wonders how much truth there is in the statement (page 231) that "in general office work, about 90 per cent of the jobs available in New York are barred to Jews." The Jew has learned during his two thousand years in the Diaspora that he can survive *pogroms*, but not unemployment.

There is a distinct relation between this silent, effective, pervasive discrimination against the Jew and the turning of many to Zionism. It is true that some Jews, under the impact of prejudice, have gone over completely to the contemporary Gentile culture by denying their Jewish origin and by assuming Christian names. Far more, however, under the influence of Zionism, with a knowledge of the history of their past, have accepted with patient dignity the added disabilities of a difficult period. Zionism has prevented the morale of many from completely collapsing. It has bolstered up a pride that cannot easily be broken down by prejudice; the consciousness of their own worth is, to some, ample compensation for the aloofness and bland disregard of their fellow Americans. Zionism brings them comfort; it instils new hope in them by emphasizing the fact that they belong spiritually, at least, to a group with whom they share the tradition of a courageous past and the hope for a better future.

In a more positive sense—and this is particularly true of the immigrant masses and their children who came here with high hopes —Zionism fills the void in the heart of many an American who still hungers for spiritual fulfillment. It was not merely the prospect of a better living that brought them, for if that was all they wanted, they could have remained in old Russia or the Balkans where there was always an opportunity for a career for the man who was willing to forswear his faith. "It was the faith in America and not the occasional criticisms that touched me most," said Grace Abbott in a study of southern and eastern European immigrants. "I felt then, and I

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have felt many times when I have met some newcomer who has expected a literal fulfillment of our democratic ideals, that fortunately for America we had great numbers who were coming to remind us of the 'promise of American life,' and insisting that it should not be forgotten." (In Mary Antin's *They Who Knock at Our Gates*, p. 140.) If America were truly liberal and democratic—as the immigrants interpret those terms—if it treated every Jew on his individual merits and did not think of him as a "Jew," if there were a reasonable hope that here a high idealism would find a response in the hearts of America's millions, then in all probability Zionism would not have the sort of hold it now exercises on the Jewish masses of this land. There may be a touch of intellectual and spiritual arrogance in this attitude of the Jew, although he is not consciously aware of it. There is something ironical in the fact that some of the leaders of Zionism, powers in local politics, bulwarks of our great conservative political parties, are devoted—sincerely, too—to a social and economic program in Palestine that is diametrically opposed to everything to which they are committed in this country! Is Palestine a spiritual escape, a projection of the political ideals which they feel cannot be realized here?

It is interesting to reflect that the prime reason assigned by many for the need of Zionism here is that it will save American Jewry from assimilation, assimilation being understood in the sense of a complete surrender of religion and folk-ways, and the ultimate disappearance of the Jewish group through intermarriage with the Gentile majority. This appeal for the need of Zionism, the most popular one advanced, is interesting and dramatic, but unnecessary. Jewry in America is not disappearing; it is not disappearing anywhere except in Russia. On the contrary, world Jewry has grown at least 50 per cent during the last generation. The truth is that the "secular" Jew, who threatens to outnumber the "religious" Jew, needs a sphere of activity in which he can express his Jewish affiliation. The industrial revolution and the factory system have made Jewish distinctiveness in dress and food and religious observances almost impossible; the modern uninational state with its cultural institutions has swept away the autonomous Jewish cultural group of pre-emancipation times; modern science has undermined orthodoxy and put religion itself on the defensive; and the desire for conformity

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and standardization in things of the flesh and the spirit has completed the process of secularization. It is these secularized Jews, whose numbers are growing, who are left without a spiritual haven. They cannot assimilate: they wish to remain in the ambit of Jewry, they have no desire to efface themselves, and even if they had, they would probably find that the world about them would not readily accept them. It is men of this type who frequently find rest in the bosom of Zionism, for here they may be good Jews in spite of their refusal to identify themselves with any particular Jewish religious group.

There is one aspect of Zionism that appeals to all groups in Jewry, even to non-Zionists—the cultural aspect. For at least two thousand years the Jews have maintained a tradition of learning. Their common bond was not so much race or language or land of origin as it was a common literature, religion, and way of life. The pursuit and study of biblical and rabbinical lore was not merely a perfunctory academic exercise. It was marked by the most intense application and devotion, for rabbinic study was a mode of worship and, what is just as significant, rabbinic teachings were valid law in the Middle Ages for the Jewish community which operated under charters granting it wide powers in matters of internal organization and civil jurisdiction. From the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries rabbinic studies practically monopolized intellectual activities. The social exclusiveness of the medieval state, the domination in the Jewish community of a hierarchy which found its authority in the Talmud and its commentaries, intensified this occupation with literary materials. The opening of the professions to the Jews in the nineteenth century gave them a chance to maintain this intellectual and academic bias; Jewry in the modern world began to produce men of distinction in every field of science and thought. Gradually the belief spread that in Palestine, amidst the most favorable surroundings, the Jewish intellectual genius would find its finest expression and its greatest opportunity. Many distinguished American Jews are convinced that such a cultural center in Palestine is most desirable and that the hope of making a distinct contribution to thought and culture in the modern world is adequate justification for the effort to create it.

It may be that Zion's appeal to the American Jew lies in its incita-

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tion to purposeful activity. It offers a rounded-out, well-integrated national ideal. The fathers who were religious Messianists since Chaldean days were content for the most part to wait patiently for the Kingdom of Heaven; the sons have attempted to force the hand of God. They have shifted the Messianism of the prophets and sages from the religious to the social scene and have gone to work. The Jew is tired of waiting for his Messiah; he has determined to create him—in Palestine. He is thrilled by the feeling of participation in creation. In the many-sided life of Palestine every Jew can find the opportunity to help rear anew, and better, that which appeals to him. The humble cloak-presser furthers the General Federation of Jewish Labor, Einstein interests himself in the Institute of Mathematics of the Hebrew University. In the short period since the war the Zionists have fashioned beautiful modern towns and villages, settled thousands of colonists, drained swamps, built roads, set up model farms. They have erected a great power plant, introduced modern machinery, established new industries, and gone far to introduce Western standards and ways of living to a primitive land. They have built hospitals and clinics, have laid the foundations of a great university, have already assembled the largest library in the Near and Middle East, and have established a modern Westernized school system with Hebrew as the language of instruction. They have stimulated a linguistic and literary renascence, brought to birth a romantic nationalism, and inspired a network of enthusiastic groups and followers in almost every country of the world.

The historian who would rise above the passion and controversy about him cannot ignore the somber background of the Palestinian scene. He is conscious of the fact that the British colonial administration does not look with any particular favor on the whole experiment. Three riots of major proportions are ample index of the bitter and uncompromising hostility of the Arabs, who outnumber the Jews four to one and who resent the penetration of their land. If he retains his perspective he will note that everything is being done in miniature. The total area in possession of the Jews does not exceed 325,000 acres, there are not 50,000 Jews on the soil, and actually fewer Jews in all of Palestine than in the state of Massachusetts. Yet he cannot but be moved by this attempt of a people to recreate a new national and spiritual life for itself. Unless his emotions have

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been dulled by an age in which the exceptional occurs too frequently to startle, he will not find it difficult to understand how the new Palestine has caught the imagination of many an American. Everything there pulsates with the freshness of experimentation, creativity, youth, and idealism. Black-eyed Bokharan and blue-eyed German-Jewish children sing the same Hebrew nursery rimes. A huge American tractor plows through the fields where once Assyrian, Greek, Arab, and Crusade troops fought, and when the day's work is done husky pioneers in their low roofed barracks read Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* or Windelband's *Geschichte der Philosophie* —in Hebrew.

It is undeniable that the apologetic of Zionism has exercised a strong fascination on many here. Palestine is an ideal in which, the Zionist believes, he can justly glory. He is proud of his institutions that provide for the sick and the unfortunate. He boasts that there is no child labor, no exploitation of women workers, no speculation in land, for all Zionist owned farms have been nationalized. He is proud of his communistic and cooperative enterprises, of his innovations in the Near East, in agriculture, housing, hygiene, and city building. He glories in the schools he has built, in the example he sets of respect for women, in the cultural values he upholds. Of course he is not unaware that Jewish nationalism has been of great service to him as an individual in aiding him to find himself in his own environment, that it has given him an appreciation of the historic ideals of ancient and medieval Jewry, that it has taught him the beauty of Jewish folk-life and strengthened him in his sense of Jewish self-respect. It is a source of satisfaction to him that through the fraternity of a common venture in idealism there is being forged a new bond of unity that will serve materially to retard the many forces working toward a disruption of world Jewish unity. But it is his fondest hope that through the social experimentation in which he is now engaged in his old homeland his own spiritual heritage will flower again. He trusts that there a new social order will evolve, an order which will point the way for other peoples. He is confident that the soil that nourished prophetic thought may again become a spiritual center that will give birth to new ethical and scientific gospels.

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Our Educational Goose-Step

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THE American public is disappointed in its colleges. The halo of the college graduate is decidedly tarnished. The college degree no longer works magic. Colleges are, therefore, being criticized as they never were before. The public sees too much athletics, too much social life, too much drinking, too much poker playing, too much petting, too much cramming, too much credit seeking, too little studying, too light an attitude toward life's problems, too much professional incompetence, and, above all, in these times of stress, too great an expenditure of money in the colleges. The final product of the college—its graduates—is being criticized for lack of scholarly knowledge, for lack of cultural attitudes, for lack of leadership, and for lack of ability to do successfully the things demanded by a cold and unsympathetic world. So sharp has become this criticism of the colleges that some parents are refusing to send their children to college, and some young people are being advised not to go to college. The sooner the colleges recognize these criticisms the sooner a searching analysis of the situation can be made and the sooner a basis for a sounder relationship of understanding can be established.

If a great flour mill began turning out a poor quality of flour would the purchasers of flour make inquiry concerning the kind of oil used by the miller on his machinery or as to whether or not the mill hands played poker? Either of these factors might, conceivably, have some influence on the quality of the flour, but the first question the purchasers would want to ask the miller would be: "What kind of wheat are you pouring into the hopper of your flour mill?" If cotton were the raw product put into the looms of a fabric mill could one expect to get silk or woolen goods from this mill?

The American people believe in education. They have been generous in their support of all types of education, including institutions

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of higher learning. They have definitely established the policy of keeping the colleges open to rich and poor alike. Before this policy is repudiated or modified and before further criticism of the colleges and of the college product jeopardizes the security of this policy toward institutions of higher learning, another aspect of this whole problem should have full and frank consideration. The time has come in connection with our college problem when we should consider the relation that must exist between a raw product and the finished material, for after all the college is a processing mill or factory. It gets its raw material from the high schools and turns out a finished product stamped with the college degree. If we want silk or wool fabrics we must control the raw material that goes into the fabric mill. If we are to be satisfied with rayon or shoddy, then we can be less particular in our selection of raw materials.

The day has gone when colleges were allowed to control the quality of their raw product. There remain a few private institutions with enrolment demands large enough to justify independent entrance standards. More and more of the burden of higher education is being placed on the state. Entrance to state institutions is being more and more determined by laws and regulations set up by independent boards and departments as, for example, in those states where all state institutions of higher learning must accept graduates of accredited high schools, and the high schools are accredited by a state Department of Education, functioning independently of the colleges.

This makes it possible for the whole machinery of determining eligibility for college entrance to be affected by political, social, and economic forces, both local and state-wide. The law requires that state institutions accept graduates of the local high schools. Pressure is brought to bear on the local superintendent, high school principal, and teachers to influence them to ignore or lower scholastic standards. State Departments, in whom control of the accrediting machinery lies, dare not ignore these local pressures and influences. We have, then, an astounding result—our institutions of higher learning can neither determine the quality of their raw product nor the standards of their own work. They must accept what the high schools send them and do the best they can with it. Obviously this gives the colleges very different objectives from those which led to the founding of Harvard in 1636.

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These facts would place a heavy responsibility on the high schools if they were free and independent institutions, but the high schools are no more able to control their own destinies and standards and objectives than the colleges are able to determine theirs. Exactly the same situation confronts the high school that confronts the college. The high school is another type of "processing" mill or factory. It gets its raw product from the grade school, and it has no means of setting up specifications for this raw product. It must take what the grade school gives it, and, in turn, must do the best it can with this grade school product.

Unlike the college and the high school the grade school cannot extenuate the conditions found there by accusing another institution of lower rank. The grade school has one tremendous advantage over the high school and the college in that it has the original hopper into which the original raw product that is to be "processed" in the grade school, high school, and college "factories" is poured. The grade school must, therefore, carry the responsibility for establishing the policies and precedents that carry on with tremendous power and influence through the high school and into the college.

What are these policies of the grade school that have had so far-reaching an influence as to affect the college product? First, the grade school began its organization with the illusion that its raw material was uniform and therefore subject to group or mass treatment. No serious provision was made for individual differences of children. Second, the grade school has been responsive to the tremendous influence of the machine age and as a result has set up a mass production machine with the emphasis on credit and promotion rather than on achievement; and the efficiency of the machine is determined by the percentage of promotion. This percentage can, of course, be fixed at will by the teacher or administrator. Third, the grade school threw the emphasis of its standardization on the time element rather than on the achievement element; and as a result children and their parents soon began to expect, and later to demand, promotion at the end of a year's schooling, irrespective of other conditions including length of school term, school equipment, quality of instruction, or the actual achievement accomplished.

As a result of the establishment of these policies and precedents the grade school has become highly mechanized on an annual pro-

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motion basis, with children being passed on from one grade to another in groups rather than on individual merit. Because of the tremendous amount of individual difference existing among children, this has brought on, of course, a tremendous amount of maladjustment in the grade school.

Obviously this maladjustment begins in the first grade where children are accepted on the basis of their chronological age rather than on that of their mental age or their ability to do legitimate first grade work. Here the goose-step in American education begins with the assumption that these six-year-old children are able to work together, and to compete with one another for school marks on a basis of equality. At the end of the school year they are promoted into the second grade, with little regard for the thoroughness of their achievement in the first grade and with many schools frankly using the normal curve of distribution to determine mechanically the distribution of school marks.

The distribution of 350 second grade children of 67 schools in one county in Oklahoma indicates the maladjustment resulting from such procedure.

GRADE	PR.	1B	1A	2B	2A	3B	3A	4B	TOTAL
2	41	45	37	96	85	30	14	2	350

CHART NO. 1 SHOWING GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 350 SECOND GRADE CHILDREN ON A BASIS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Forty-one of these 350 children in the second grade belong in the most elementary primer class. Forty-five were ready to begin work in the first reader. Thirty-seven were good first graders. Of the 350 there were 123, therefore, unable to read their second readers. Of the entire 350 approximately half—181— belonged in the second grade. Forty-four belonged in the third grade and two were able to do work of the fourth grade level. These two children of fourth grade ability and the 41 children who belonged in the primer were found competing with each other for school marks with identical text books, assignments, and instruction, on an assumed basis of equality of ability. A study of more than 400 schools and 50,000 children discloses that this picture of maladjustment is typical of conditions

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throughout the country, since our school policies and procedures in the United States are so highly standardized.

With the first grade in our American public schools setting a precedent and determining a policy by promoting into the second grade literally thousands of children unable to read a primer at sight, the flood gates of maladjustment are opened upon the grades that follow; and it is, therefore, not surprising to find the following distribution of 261 eighth grade pupils in these same 67 schools in one Oklahoma county.

GRADE	4B	4A	5B	5A	6B	6A	7B	7A	8B	8A	9B	9A	10B	TOTAL
8	1	6	16	20	58	27	64	24	24	9	2	6	4	261

CHART NO. 2 SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF 261 EIGHTH GRADE CHILDREN ON A BASIS OF ACHIEVEMENT

Of these 261 eighth graders only 31 actually belonged in the eighth grade as determined by the modest achievement standards used in this study, while 206 of these eighth graders were unable to read with any degree of satisfaction any of their eighth grade text books.

The junior high school arose in response to a demand for some solution of this very problem which was supposed to have some obscure but direct connection with adolescence. Those who expected the junior high school to solve the problem of maladjustment can get little satisfaction from the following distribution of pupils in a small, but typical, junior high school.

GRADE	4B	4A	5B	5A	6B	6A	7B	7A	8B	8A	9B	9A	10	11	12	TOTAL
7	2	4	4	3	8	3	9	7	6	1	8	1	3	3	1	62
8		1	2	2	6	2	8	7	6	4	3	6	4	2	1	54
9	1	1	1	3	6	9	3	4	4	8	4	7	11	8	5	75

CHART NO. 3 SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF 191 JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS ON A BASIS OF ACHIEVEMENT

This distribution of achievement ability of upper grade pupils adequately presents the high school problem of maladjustment, for

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these upper grade children are the raw product of the grade school, in process of being hauled to the high school mill where this nondescript, conglomerate mixture of ability and preparation will be dumped into the hopper as grist for a processing machine. And in this high school hopper a standard curriculum prepared with the college in mind, rather than the individual needs of the children, dominates the policies and procedures.

The distribution of students, according to simple grade school achievement from the seventh to the twelfth grade inclusive in a typical small consolidated school, indicates how fully the policies of indiscriminate promotion set up in the first grade of the grade school are followed in the high school; and the character of the raw material out of which we must weave our delicate "college bred" fabrics of intricate design is indicated by the achievement distribution of the 14 high school seniors shown in the chart.

GRADE	4B	4A	5B	5A	6B	6A	7B	7A	8B	8A	9B	9A	10	11	12	TOTAL
7			2	4	7	3	2	4	2							24
8			2	1	2	1	6	1	4		1					18
9	1			3	2		1	3	3	1	3	2	1			20
10			1	2	2		4	3	7	3	4	2	5			33
11					1	1	6	5	1	1	1	1	2			19
12				1		1	3	1	3	1	2	1		1		14

CHART NO. 4 SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF 125 PUPILS IN GRADES 7–12 INCLUSIVE ON A BASIS OF GRADE SCHOOL SUBJECT ACHIEVEMENT

The idea or hope that there is any fairy, or god-mother, or allwise Providence, or pagan hocus pocus that divides the wheat from the chaff among these high school seniors and throws only the wheat into the college hopper is rudely shaken when one examines these same seniors as they apply for admittance to college.

For 5 years the colleges in Oklahoma have been giving uniform placement tests in English to their freshmen, with practically identical results. More than 20,000 college freshmen have been tested with tests that included reading, grammar, word knowledge, and

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literature. The distribution, in 1929, of 4,112 college freshmen in institutions of higher learning in reading ability is pertinent and enlightening.

GRADE	4TH	5TH	6TH AND 7TH	8TH AND 9TH	10TH	ABOVE 10TH	TOTAL
College Freshmen	57	503	126	1422	706	1298	4112

CHART NO. 5 SHOWING GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF 4112 COLLEGE FRESHMEN ON A BASIS OF READING ABILITY

The scores of the other tests show the same wide distribution.

There is no escape from the conclusion that the colleges inherit the ever increasing problems of maladjustment unleashed in the first grade of the grade school, and that, perhaps, the biggest job confronting the colleges at the present time has to do with the solution of this problem of maladjustment. The maintenance of traditional college standards in the face of this annual influx of totally unprepared college freshmen is impossible. Either standards of college work must be lowered, or standards of college entrance must be raised. It is conceded by many that standards of college work have been, and are being, lowered. Freshman courses are increasingly becoming courses for the correction of defects in high school preparation. More and more work is being done on the college campus that should be done in the grade schools and high schools in the local communities.

I contend that the burden of the criticism of the colleges at the present time would be eliminated if they could take care of the one problem of placing college entrance on a basis of definite, legitimate college standards. This, of course, would raise a hue and cry that such a policy would keep people out of college. Why not frankly admit that a lot of people should be kept out of college? The doors of the college could still be kept open to all who desire to enter, provided, of course, that they could make and were willing to make satisfactory preparation before presenting themselves for entrance. Surely there is no excuse for making grade schools and high schools out of our colleges because a great many young people fail to do their grade school and high school work before they go to college.

This is not an insurmountable problem. Take, for instance, the

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simple matter of reading. It ought to be easy enough to agree that people whose reading ability does not reach a certain standard have no place in college and ought to continue their reading training and experience on the grade school and high school levels until the desired standard is reached. This one measure alone, applied on a very modest basis, would eliminate at least 25 per cent of the present college freshmen every fall. Surely we could agree that college algebra should not be attempted by students who had failed to learn the computation of simple fractions in the grade school, and that, since college is obviously not the place to teach simple fractions, these students ought to continue their work in the grade school until these simple fundamentals are mastered. In this way it should be easy to agree on a definite program in the matter of setting up standards for college entrance. These standards should be definite, easily interpreted by high schools and grade schools.

We need, then, to deflate our craze for promotion, diplomas, credits, and degrees, and to set up in the minds of those who control our educational policies the simple philosophy that the work that belongs in one grade ought to be mastered before the work of the next succeeding grade is attempted. We need to make the simple distinction between paper credits and education. We need to insist that prospective college students finish their grade school and high school training before they enter college. What a different atmosphere of scholarship and culture the college campuses of this country would breathe if such a simple policy were put into operation!

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The Gold Standard

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THE world has been taught that the gold standard is a *sine qua non* of normal economic life, and therefore, regardless of whether or not there is any justification for this faith, the economic doctors must take cognizance of it. The gold standard, which for many years now has required, as a price for its maintenance, a niggardly lending policy and therefore an output below a maximum level, may nevertheless be desirable merely because the public demands it. Like the balanced budget it is one of the prejudices of the age, and our leaders have themselves to blame if their teachings in the past now make it necessary to restore a monetary system which is not the best possible one. Our monetary machine ought to be the handmaid of industry, maximising output and employment; yet the experiences of the last 75 years and particularly those of the last 10 have conclusively proved that the gold standard may be a device for sacrificing our economic welfare to our monetary system. The means has become the end. Of course, the gold standard envisaged by *some* economists and other dreamers, i. e., a gold standard managed to give the world the necessary degree of flexibility, is neither the one we have had nor the one we are likely to have in this extremely nationalistic world.

Money, ever since the days of Adam Smith, has been considered a means toward improving our material state, not a device to hamper production. The gold standard has been an instrument for keeping all nations in step, for facilitating payments between them; but it may be noted that for generations nations embarrassed by unfavorable economic conditions have not followed the courageous but costly (and unwise) policy of starving their industries in order to remain virtuous and keep in step: at the least provocation they have given up the gold standard. On the other hand the leaders of the world parade, e. g., Great Britain, United States, Germany, have recently faced a

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similar problem; and they have not displayed so much common sense as their backward neighbors. They have tried in vain to maintain gold payments even at the expense of output and employment; they have failed in every sense. Now the question is, is the world to return to gold and continue the process of strangulation? or is each nation to attain the modicum of independence necessary to maximum employment and output? Is industry to receive the amount of credit necessary or are the banks to say that above all a dollar is a gold dollar, and if inconvertibility is jeopardised we must curtail credit, reduce the amount of money until the danger of inconvertibility is at an end, and in the meanwhile ruin American and world industry. Another alternative is *remotely* possible: a sensible gold standard based on international cooperation—one unlike that in vogue in the past.

A country is on the gold standard when its central bank or Treasury is prepared to convert paper currency and bank deposits expressed in terms of its monetary unit into gold bullion or gold coin, and gold into paper currency or bank deposits. Before the War, the maintenance of the gold standard implied a readiness to convert domestic currency into gold bullion or gold coins; the recognition of the possibility of a shortage of gold, and the lessons of the War, have converted a metallist minded world from a paper currency convertible into gold coin into one convertible only into bullion of minimum quantities. Thus most nations of the world, fearful of the steady and continuous decline in prices which would make business unprofitable, have agreed to manage gold to the extent of withdrawing notes from circulation, thus making the available supplies go further; the result is to depress its value and raise prices.

It is important to emphasize that a conversion of gold into paper currency is as vital as that of the latter into the former. Otherwise the advantage of a gold standard, which after all merely provides a fixity of the price of gold while the price of everything else fluctuates, is lost. Thus India during the War was inundated with gold and sterling; but the conversion of gold or its equivalent into domestic currency was baffling, and India, much to its embarrassment, operated with a currency unit that appreciated both in terms of gold and of sterling. Similarly, the price of gold in terms of dollars may depreciate in the United States today if social opprobrium or aggressive ac-

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tion on the part of the Treasury makes the hoarding of gold both an uncomfortable and unprofitable pastime. The effect on the value of gold and silver in France in 1793–94 when the Terrorists introduced the threat of the guillotine to correct the abuse of hoarding, serves as an adequate reminder.

In recent days it has been trying for an economist to attempt to dislodge the man in the street from his conviction that the United States is still on the gold standard. (I write early in April, 1933.) The ordinary run of men refuse to believe that such disaster as the abandonment of the gold standard might befall the United States: they have been bullied into believing, largely through text-book propaganda and silly platitudes emanating from high authority in Washington, that the loss of the gold standard *is* ruination itself. Yet they find the country still carrying on today, and in addition they can point to the stability of the dollar abroad; but they fail to realize that the value of the dollar, like the value of anything else, depends upon market conditions. Even in the presence of inconvertibility it may remain stable or appreciate. An embargo on gold and the inconvertibility of dollars *are* an abandonment of the gold standard, whatever happens to the value of the dollar. Thus for about 2 years the German mark has remained stable in terms of dollars and yet Germany has been off the gold standard and in fact has held a mere pittance of gold. Rigid control of the demand and supply of foreign currencies, through a comprehensive control of commodity and capital markets, has made this possible; and a continuance of confidence in the dollar, evidenced by increased purchases in order to move capital to New York or to anticipate bills payable in dollars (and postpone bills payable abroad because of the hope of paying less later as dollars appreciate) as well as by an unwillingness to sell dollars, may well make an appreciation of the dollar possible. That is one of the sore spots in our economic life today: the world has too much confidence in the dollar, which continues to appreciate at home and maintain its value abroad in the face of what might well have been a national disaster, and thus prices continue to fall and business enterprise becomes less and less profitable. What is universally held to be a victory for the dollar and hence for America is in truth nothing but another disaster, i. e. another failure to stop the appreciation of the dollar and hence the increase in unemployment.

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In the early part of the 19th century a theory which was to play a large part of the monetary history of the next century gained ascendancy. This theory, which forms the basis of the English Bank Act of 1844, is that the precious metals are distributed over the world according to a natural law; that the economic strength of a nation determines its share of the world's supply, and therefore the place of paper substitutes in a monetary system can be merely that of substitutes for gold in order that the total gold and paper in any country shall not be in excess of what the total amount of gold would have been in the absence of paper. Free issues of currency notes, it is held, necessarily lead to higher prices and losses of gold, which are disturbing to economic equilibrium. Therefore the banking and currency system of a country should prevent excessive issues in this sense.

The monetary systems of the world have been handicapped by the dominance of this theory, which denies the virtues of an elastic currency system, under which money and credit are adjusted to the needs of trade. Supplies of money, when this theory is accepted, are not manufactured according to the needs of trade, but rather are so determined that they conform to the proportion of the world's supply of gold earned by the country in question. In practise this comes to the empirical test of convertibility: issue money only to the point where convertibility into gold is not jeopardised; convertibility, not the needs of trade, is the test. Fortunately two developments saved the world from the lethargy which might have followed the acceptance of this theory—the large gold discoveries of the second half of the 19th century and the rapid development of banking and other credit devices, which escaped the attention of the monetary theorists who applied their theory to issues of currency notes and neglected to consider bank credit. That trade was not put into a strait-jacket may be explained by these fortuitous circumstances; and the increased monetary requirements in a period in which output and trade were increasing rapidly were met without any serious difficulties.

Any success with the gold standard may be ascribed not only to these fortuitous circumstances, but also to the fact that in the pre-War period it was not an international standard in any important sense. Responsibility and leadership were concentrated in the Bank of England alone and the value of gold was determined by that of sterling. Division of authority and responsibility, in the manner of

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the post-War period, between Great Britain, America, and France, was unknown in the pre-War period. An international system controlled by one nation may succeed even in a nationalistic world; but an international system with divided authority is doomed to failure even in a less nationalistic world than that through which we are now passing. In pre-War days Great Britain could lend liberally and reduce the value of sterling and therefore of gold for which sterling was convertible, or she could contract and force other nations to do likewise by the threat of a world-wide deflation: each country in turn would then be forced to outbid Great Britain for available supplies of gold on the penalty of losing its gold, which moved to the market prepared to pay the highest price. A large measure of inflation could be introduced in England first, because English authorities could lose a large amount of gold with little danger and because there alone could the movement be reversed without disastrous results: a high bank rate, following an episode of inflation not carried through with equal intensity by other nations, would drive foreign borrowers away from the London market and thus turn the balance of payments in favor of England. But other nations were inclined to follow the lead of England in a period of inflation for the process provided them with additional resources, either in the form of gold or of foreign exchange reserves. The possibility of conscious resistance to this world-wide influence initiated by England was open to but few countries with strong central banks; and these, either in their ignorance, or their anxiety to follow rather than lead, stayed in line. Gold moves to other countries as England inflates because the process of inflation *is* the process of reducing the price bid for gold in England—other nations, by virtue of inaction or *late* action, become higher bidders for gold. These nations in turn inflate, i. e. create more money on the basis of incoming gold.

In the War and early post-War period almost every country in the world abandoned the gold standard. Gold was shipped as any other commodity in order to meet unfavorable balances of payments; but such shipments did not bring the correctives that are required under a gold standard. Countries losing gold did not increase their bank rate, in order to reduce costs and prices and increase their export trade. Nor did the United States, the main sink for incoming gold, allow

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the gold to have its maximum effect on prices, which would have turned the balance of payments against her by increasing the price of her exports. The influx of gold therefore continued unabated. In the early post-War years it was commonly contended that the value of the dollar determined the value of gold. The United States alone could raise the value of its currency and thus afford to take billions of dollars of gold, for which its dollars, now appreciated in value, were exchangeable. The United States was the only large free market for gold and therefore, when the American banking authorities raised the value of the dollar, they raised that of gold. European nations attempting to raise the value of their currencies in terms of pre-War parity were embarrassed by the appreciation of gold in the years 1920–25. Thus England's task in raising the value of sterling from 3½ to 5 dollars (approximately) was made much more difficult because the dollar itself (and hence gold) rose in value in the years 1921–25.

In the years 1924–29 most of the important countries of the world returned to the gold standard, and the resumption of gold payments seemed a permanent achievement. But the new gold standard, restored through international cooperation, was not to be favored with a continuance of that spirit; moreover, the obstacles confronting the successful operation of the gold standard were of larger proportions than ever. A vast volume of short term capital ready to be moved from one financial center to another at the slightest financial inducement, genuine or calculated; tariffs of prohibitive dimensions; a rigidity in labor and capital costs that made any corrective action through bank rates and prices next to impossible—all these jeopardised the gold standard. International debts cannot be paid if receiving countries, though they demand payment, impose tariffs, thus in fact refusing payment. Countries confronted with an unfavorable balance of payments, whether the explanation be large international debts both public and private (Germany); or high costs and excessive lending (Great Britain); or excessive declines in prices of agricultural products and therefore in the value of export trade, and a reduction in funds advanced by foreigners (Australia, India, etc.) have the following alternatives: First, they may export gold, which, however, can cover only a small part of the deficits involved—losses of gold, if they are to be effective, must be the occasion for higher bank rates

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and lower costs—or, second, a reduction of costs and prices; but when trade unions are powerful and the capitalist class obdurate, any significant reduction of costs, in the absence of wholesale bankruptcies, is out of the question; and even if prices were brought down, export trade would not respond in a world where an increase in imports is held to be a signal either for higher tariffs or, even, for a prohibition of imports. The only other remedy for the country embarrassed by an unfavorable balance of payments (leaving out of account the possibility of introducing tariffs or prohibiting the export of capital) lies in offering foreigners favorable rates for their money, thus borrowing for short periods of time. In England this movement proceeded so far in 1925–31 that *domestic* investors were virtually told that they were not to seek short term investments; for if they purchased them freely, the return would be reduced and foreigners would withdraw their short term capital.

The net result of the peculiar conditions in 1925–31 was that too much of a strain was put upon gold as a means of making payments, and the more important function of the gold standard, namely, correction of costs and prices, was relegated to a minor place. Losses of gold force nations to maintain high bank rates and thus curtail bank credit and cause unemployment. The monetary system thus fails to maximise employment.

England abandoned the gold standard in September 1931. For six years she had tried in vain to bring costs down, increase her export trade, and induce other nations to cut their tariffs. Banking disturbances on the Continent were followed by large withdrawals of short term capital from England, the attraction of which had made possible the continuance of gold payments in earlier years. England faced a double handicap in the years 1925–31, and particularly in the years 1929–31. Gold prices were declining; but a powerful trade union organisation and an unwillingness to take action to reduce *all* costs by the use of a national agreement, deprived her of the relief to be obtained from a general reduction in costs, such as was recently effected in Germany through state action or has been effected to some extent here by voluntary wage reductions and bankruptcies. Gold costs (and prices) had increased relatively to other countries in the years 1921–25, for sterling had appreciated more rapidly in terms

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of dollars (and gold) than it had in terms of labor and other costs. Foreigners had to pay more units of their own currency for sterling and did not receive an *adequate* (corresponding) compensation in a reduction in prices; or if prices were brought down, the decline was consummated in part by imposing losses on business.

Driven off the gold standard, England, on the other hand, has found some relief in the disappearance of the restraint that had been imposed previously by the assumed need of staying on the gold standard. In the 18 months since September 1931, England has been spared the large and continued decline in prices that countries adhering to the gold standard have experienced. Thus the overvaluation of sterling has perhaps given way to an undervaluation. Foreigners purchasing sterling can acquire it with only 60 per cent as many dollars as in September 1931, and yet each £ sterling purchases as much in England as before September 1931. It is no wonder that despite increased tariffs, Great Britain's share of the world export trade has increased and her economic conditions have not become steadily worse to the same extent as those in other countries in the same stage of economic evolution. It is easy to understand why both the Conservative and Labor parties are strongly entrenched on a platform favoring the continuance of a managed standard.

A suspension of gold payments in the United States threatened in the fall of 1931 when England was forced to suspend. So great was the resulting shock to confidence of England's renouncement of the gold standard that many who had dollars both at home and abroad immediately demanded gold for them. New York had in the preceding generation become an important gold center, that is, a financial market where foreign banks invest their money for short periods of time on the assumption that they can always convert these dollar assets into gold immediately. In other words the United States, a creditor on long term account, was also a debtor on short term account. Thus in 1931–32 the United States began to pay the bill for having been so hospitable to short term capital. Foreigners converted American Treasury bills and acceptances and bank deposits in the United States into their local currency (francs say) and gave their dollars in exchange to their central banks. In that manner foreign central banks, by disposing of investments, on their own ac-

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count or on account of their clients, acquired dollars, which they first converted into deposits at the New York Reserve Bank, then into earmarked gold, and finally into gold bullion for export. It can readily be imagined that the sale of a few billions of these assets might well jeopardise the gold payments in the United States; and foreign central banks not only obtained dollars by selling assets of their nationals—they also disposed of their own dollar assets.

An even more serious threat, however, was to be found in the domestic banking and currency situation. Hampered by reserve requirements that have no logical basis today, the reserve banks found their surplus reserves dwindling as the public, thoroughly frightened, attempted to convert all kinds of assets and in particular balances at banks, into currency notes. Issues of currency notes require the deposit of 100 per cent of collateral and at least 40 per cent in gold; and when acceptable collateral (eligible paper) was not available, each dollar withdrawn deprived the reserve banks of the use of a dollar of gold.

Frequent bank failures had made the American people suspicious of their banking system; and disturbances abroad merely assured them that their suspicions were well-founded. The disturbances of 1931, banking failures from 1929 to 1932, and the unsuccessful attempt in 1932 of the reserve banks and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to pump into the banks additional cash adequate to fill the gap left by withdrawals of deposits, all left the banking system vulnerable to an attack from their depositors following further losses of confidence.

When a bank is weak it loses deposits rapidly and the proportion of its deposits to loans increases. The same thing is true of the banking system. Moreover, a divergence in the value of assets and liabilities emerges, and as prices decline (and therefore the value of assets also) and banks, to meet the demands of depositors, are forced to dispose of assets at losses, the divergence becomes larger. As the public increasingly becomes aware of the actual state of affairs, more depositors demand currency for their deposits and, *pari passu*, the disposal of assets on markets where everybody wants cash and nobody non-cash assets, involves the banks in larger losses, until finally the banks must either refuse to meet the demands of depositors or else must sell their assets at ridiculously low prices. Member banks may

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find it impossible to dispose of assets on the market except at ruinous prices, and may find the facilities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the reserve banks closed to them. Then if the rights of depositors who do not yield to the panicky fears current are to be protected, the only alternative is to shut the banks temporarily. Otherwise those withdrawing first will receive full payment and others will receive little.

Before the bank holiday had been declared in March 1933 large exports had been made to foreign countries, and a billion or two of gold, required to meet reserve and collateral requirements against Federal reserve notes and the demands for gold by the public, became unavailable for export purposes. Foreign banks were beginning to wonder whether their dollar claims could be satisfied in gold dollars. The embargo on gold introduced in March 1933 was an acknowledgment that gold payments could not safely be met, inasmuch as it was an admission of the impossibility of converting 40 billions of dollars of bank deposits into 40 billions of dollars of currency while at the same time guaranteeing the conversion of dollars into gold dollars. A frightened public deserts non-cash assets for deposits and finally deposits for currency notes; and if the fear is strong enough, exchanges currency notes for gold.

Now we are off the gold standard as is every important nation in the world with the exception of France. South Africa, the world's largest miner of gold, having given up the gold standard, finds the situation exceedingly pleasant. In a depressed world she is having a bit of prosperity. Everybody gives up gold and yet South Africa is prosperous. Why? The explanation is that the abandonment of the gold standard is in itself an admission that there is not enough gold: domestic currency is excessive relatively to gold. The value of gold continues to rise while everything else falls in value; and the abandonment of the gold standard leaves each nation fighting more fiercely than ever to accumulate as much gold as ever.

What of the future? A managed standard is desirable, and a managed gold standard is possible. But if adequate management and cooperation along lines agreeable to the large nations of the world is not possible, then we may have to resort to a national system. Above all, industry must not be checked in this nationalistic world by an

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insensate competition for gold adequate to meet all reasonable needs in a cooperative world. Recovery can be assured only if the decline in prices is stopped; and an *early* recovery is possible only if a moderate increase in prices develops. This is not even remotely possible if the banks are niggardly in the offer of credits; and if central banks are forced to continue gold payments under a gold standard of an automatic or semi-automatic type they may have no alternative but to compete strenuously for the gold required for convertibility: success will be forthcoming to those central banks that are remorseless enough to reduce their supplies of domestic currency to a point where gold will be attracted by virtue of the increase in value of their currency for which it is interchangeable. Disaster will be the lot of those countries that *are* successful. Trade will not be financed; output will be curtailed; unemployment will grow.

It is unreasonable to demand a return to the gold standard before the disquieting elements, which have forced the world to give up the gold standard, are removed. Tariffs must be lowered; capital must move more freely; confidence must be revived; the decline in prices must be stopped. It is possible that a return to the gold standard is a necessary prerequisite for a return of confidence; but it is probable that no gold standard can function so long as confidence is at a low point and (hence) prices continue to fall.

An *immediate* return to gold? A correction of fundamental economic conditions and *then* a return to a managed gold standard? or an admission of the futility of a gold (or any other international) standard in a highly nationalistic world? These are the problems confronting the governments of the world. International bimetallism is scarcely a serious solution. If the absence of international cooperation has impaired the functioning of the gold standard its absence will make bimetallism impossible, for more international cooperation is necessary for the functioning of a double standard than is necessary to maintain the gold standard—which after all has functioned, however badly, in the absence, to a large measure, of management and cooperation. Nor will international bimetallism give the world that additional, and badly needed, money that the inadequately managed gold standard has so far failed to provide.

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Intellectual Liberty Imperilled

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ANOTHER list of academic proscriptions is posted in Germany. The list for one recent day included the urbane and cosmopolitan Moritz Bonn, well known in America as one of the most interesting of exchange professors; Emil Lederer, a liberal scholar of serene purity of purpose and clarity of thought; Kantorowitz, one of the most distinguished of living historians; Keilsen, an authority on jurisprudence who would adorn any age. Eight more, every one a scholar of note, were included in that list. They are liberals, or they have socialistic leanings, or they are internationalists, or—most damaging of all—they are Jews. And hundreds of other professors, against whom one or another of these heinous charges may be brought, are looking forward to expulsion from the chairs they have honored and to a precarious and poverty-stricken future.

At least, it may be said, they can continue to write books. Freedom of oral instruction is gone; but the most effective means of instruction is after all the book, with the author's philosophy weightily set forth, his facts marshalled in unassailable array. Alas, freedom to write is dependent on freedom to publish, and this freedom too has perished out of Germany. The German scholar may go into exile and write what he pleases, but there has never been sufficient market for his books abroad to justify their publication. So far as the present outlook goes, the free German scholar is done for. Let us entertain no illusions about the superiority of mind to circumstance. *Wer tot ist, der ist tot.*

Such proscription of scholars, unfortunately, is no new and strange phenomenon in our time. The best of the Italian scholars are wandering around the world today, eking out a living as best they can. Russia, too, had distinguished scholars under the old régime whose opinions failed to square with the official doctrine. They are in exile, living in attics on book reviewing or private tutoring, or engaged in some manual occupation which affords scanty bread. There were

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scholars in the Succession States carved out of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In Austria they are still free, and in Czecho-Slovakia, but these states are hemmed in by the plague of dictatorship. Academic freedom is still safe in England and France, in Holland and Scandinavia. It is safe in America, although it is not so very long since we smiled over the witty headline: "Another Professor goes Pop!"

Thank God for America, and for the broad Atlantic, and for the freedom of thought that reigns securely, East and West, North and South. Thousands of scholars are murmuring this invocation today, if they stop to think. But wait. Securely? What is this thing known as academic liberty? Whence did it come, and what are the forces that defend it? As we now conceive academic liberty it did not exist in the America of the nineties when E. Benjamin Andrews was forced out of Brown University for his premature advocacy of an honest dollar; when Richard T. Ely was forced out of Johns Hopkins for gently liberal doctrines that are now accepted as orthodox conservatism; when John R. Commons and Edward Bemis and E. A. Ross were anathema and Thorstein Veblen was tolerated only because the thick fog of his style was impenetrable to the gaze of persecution.

Academic liberty in America is a recent importation from Germany. Down to the eighties we got on with the traditional American college, a nice, gentlemanly high school, that inculcated many virtues, among which, however, free ranging, penetrating thought did not appear. There was freedom in America, but it dwelt outside of academic walls.

And yet, though the professors were serfs to the prevailing opinion, the students were not altogether excluded from the light of liberty. By a happy historical accident they were required to study Latin and Greek, and thus were introduced to some of the noblest exponents of free thought that have ever lived in the world. From Tacitus they learned what suppression of thought means to a civilization. From Plato and Aristotle they learned to regard political and social institutions as temporary expedients devised by man, valuable, perhaps, only in the circumstances in which they arise. From Plutarch they learned how to appraise a real man, and from the Stoics they learned that pride in human independence and dignity

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which no misfortune or injustice could vanquish. Scientific philology and practical opinion have robbed our present youth of the classics and their brilliant light of human liberty. But we still have academic liberty, thanks to Germany in her great days.

In the seventies a thin stream of young American scholars began to trickle into the German universities. In the eighties the stream became a flood. For the pioneers came back with accounts of a mental world of unimaginable warmth and fertility. There you might find the great orthodox theologian deploying an immense wealth of varied scholarship in the rational defence of theses that in America could be defended only by silences and taboos. Under the same academic roof you might find an equally great scholar maintaining with religious zeal the tenets of atheism. You might find political scientists valiantly defending the absolute monarchy and others advocating democracy with equal ardor. Fierce battles raged among these scholars; but the warfare was carried on under what to the American student seemed a knightly code, for it was never aimed at a man's tenure or living. Indeed, if the political authorities had sought to expel a democrat or socialist, the first to protest would have been the most bitter critics of radicalism.

Since the days of the Greeks there had never been anything so magnificent intellectually as the academic liberty of the period of German greatness. British academic freedom was older, better established in the general institutional structure, but it was relatively cold, non-infectious. The light of German freedom drew the generous youth of the nation—and of other nations—like moths.

It would require volumes even to enumerate the contributions to every department of science which grew out of German academic liberty. After all we are not so much concerned here with the positive contributions of German thought as with its influence upon our own academic institutions. Our returning scholars of the eighties and nineties entered the colleges flaming with zeal to break up their orthodoxies, their tough disciplinary integument, and to transform them into genuine universities where creative thought could flourish in the light of freedom. One by one real universities emerged, and alongside them many counterfeit universities that at least affected the virtue of academic freedom so long as no excessive costs

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in unpopularity were involved. More and more academic administrators hesitated to cashier unpopular professors unless they could be garotted quietly on moral or other private grounds not touching upon academic liberty.

We still have so-called universities where the professor of geology must reconcile the Silurian and Ordovician formations with the chapters of Genesis, where the biologist must concentrate on the differences rather than the similarities in comparative anatomy, where deans must be church members in good standing, where Ibsen and Shaw are locked away from general circulation on account of their moral subversiveness. But these institutions are almost universally regarded as jokes. Most of our important institutions are in the main free. Today there are scores of professors openly advocating inflation, the abolition of stock exchanges, compulsory unemployment insurance, the recognition of Russia. One and all, they would have been dismissed forty years ago. Today they need fear nothing but the criticism of their colleagues.

Someone will say, it is all very well to talk about the freedom of professors once established in their chairs; but how about the selection of professors? Will anyone be chosen unless his opinions can be guaranteed safe and sound? No such guarantee can be given. I know of no opinion so unorthodox—or even preposterous—that it is not openly held by some professor in a position that for the present at least appears absolutely secure.

We have, on the whole, a degree of academic liberty in this country which may not unfairly be compared to that of pre-War Germany. And under academic liberty our universities have thriven marvellously. Their contributions to science have been innumerable. With Germany now out of the running America bids fair to become the main carrier of science in the modern world—provided of course that we can retain our liberties.

Freedom of thought, of speech, of instruction, what curious plant is this which has grown so vast that any suggestion that it may wither away seems absurd? There were in the Mediterranean basin and the Levant at least four civilizations preceding the classical that never conceived of such freedom at all. It never existed in the Far East, nor in the civilizations of Mexico and Peru. Before Socrates an excel-

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lent *a priori* argument could have been advanced to prove that it never could exist at all. The demos cares nothing for it, the tyrant hates it; and how narrow historically the domain between tyrant and demos!

In two lands, Greece and England, freedom of thought forced itself upon demos and tyrant by sheer moral force. The Greeks of the Periclean age won freedom of thought because they were willing to die for it. If Socrates had shrunk from the hemlock it is doubtful that the Greek mind could have won its freedom. If Sir Thomas More and many another true scholar had trembled before the headsman's ax it is doubtful that freedom of thought would have been enumerated among the splendid achievements of early modern England. They had to die freely, those sixteenth and seventeenth century Englishmen, in order that the eighteenth century Englishman might say his true mind, whether in Parliament or in pamphlet or book. The Englishman still enjoys this liberty, because today as in earlier generations, he would die for it if need be.

On the continent of Europe academic liberty rests on no such solid foundation of individual independence. In the University of Padua you may see in a glass showcase a small object, which looks like ivory, with the inscription in Latin: "I am the fifth vertebra of Galileo Galilei. I helped his neck to bend." The European scholars bowed their necks to the yoke until theological zeal came to the support of their sense of personal independence. Promptly, however, victorious heretical opinion became persecutor in its turn. Lutheran and Calvinist countries were as little tolerant of freedom as Catholic. Real intellectual freedom did not become established until the patronage of letters was assumed by the absolute monarch.

It would be difficult to analyze the psychological forces that made the Roi Soleil, that shallow pated militarist, Louis XIV, take letters and philosophy under his peacock wing. It is enough that in doing so he set a fashion that became as imperative among kings and princelets as the fashions he set in wigs and hose. Every German ruler had thereafter to maintain his dovecote of free scholars and defend them against the serpents of orthodoxy. In France the fashion changed, as one might have expected, with the death of the great Louis. Thenceforward free thought flowed underground, to spurt forth in the *Encyclopædia* and Voltaire. In Germany it won a remarkable

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hold on Frederick the Great, with whom literary and philosophic yearnings offered the necessary relief from obsessive military ambitions.

To his successors in the Hohenzollern line Frederick left the beneficent tradition of honoring the scholar. And since it was known from of old that scholarship without freedom becomes eventually sterile, the Hohenzollerns cherished the free scholar like a crown jewel. As youthful princes they attended the universities and took part discreetly in the struggle of live opinion that animated the student body. After assuming the crown a Prussian monarch would occasionally glorify a favorite professor to the point of death from embarrassment by appearing with a select retinue in the classroom. The kings and kaisers had their own extremely positive views as to what was sound scholarship and what was not, but they had the good sense or good manners to let alone the scholarship they disapproved.

It is sometimes argued that this toleration flowed from no nobler motive than the crafty design of taming wild ideas. Socialism did indeed become quite tame and innocuous upon its espousal by the Socialists of the Chair. The fire of party passion is always likely to be cooled by the divine fire of scholarship. If French thought had been free from the time of Louis XIV it is quite possible that the French Revolution would have been effected through a long series of ordinances and parliamentary votes instead of through fire and gunpowder and the guillotine. Thought will rarely be violently revolutionary, if free. For in freedom every variation of doctrine normally evokes its counter-variation. Every toxin produces its appropriate anti-toxin. We have seen in our own free universities how promptly the emergence of communistic ideas in any part of the faculty arouses intense anti-communism in the rest of the faculty.

Out of this spontaneous play of radicalism and reaction, in free universities, salutary compromises of thought may reasonably be expected, compromises pointing the way to institutional changes improving the equilibrium of the state. It is highly improbable that such an idea never occurred to the Prussian monarchs, or their ministers. But it is still more improbable that this should have been a dominating motive with them. They never believed that their position was insecure and in need of intellectual compromise. They sought glory and found it; for the history of the remote future will

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dwell on the intellectual magnificence of the Hohenzollern Age, as we still magnify the Age of Augustus.

The Hohenzollerns are gone, and German academic freedom is at the mercy of the Nazis who hate it, the communists who despise it, the Centrists who condemn it, and the Junkers who scoff at it. The universities will be maintained, for the professional and technological functions they perform, but intellectual freedom lives on only by a tradition severed from its source. It may recover its position in time, when Germany attains to political maturity. But political maturity comes slowly. We have practiced democracy for more than a century and a half and still have a long stretch of road ahead of us before we attain to true political maturity.

Thank God, again, for America and the broad Atlantic. Our own liberties, at any rate, are secure. But are they? Does our demos love the liberty that criticizes the party in power? Let us recall the campaign against the university conducted last fall in the enlightened state of Wisconsin. Let us recall Governor Bilbo and what he did to the scholars that "bit the hand that fed them." Do our financial kinglets and their stewards in academic government love liberty? I forbear to illustrate.

A democracy is not immune to the sway of fashion, and academic liberty has gone out of fashion in Italy, Germany, Russia, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Japan. We still feel keenly about Germany, because the case is fresh; but we are rather complacent about the wandering Russian and Italian scholars. In our hearts we hope they won't expect anything of us; for have we not cares enough of our own?

Is it not time for the scholars of America to recognize that the republic of letters and scholarship is one, that it transcends national lines, and that the crushing of the republic in one part of the world menaces everywhere the freedom without which scholarship is one of the meanest of the professions?

But what are we to do? Clamor across the ocean to the deaf ears of Hitler? No. When the inhabitants of the eastern departments of France fled before the invaders, the more fortunate who were at least temporarily beyond the reach of invasion housed them, fed them, found work for them, and preserved them for the republic.

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This we American scholars can do for the German scholars who are being expelled from chair and home and country. There is not a university in America which could not profitably make room for a number of German scholars on its faculty. There is not a university that does not owe this duty to German scholarship.

But how about the budget? Our universities are suffering loss of income, like all other corporations. It is difficult for them to maintain even their existing staffs without cutting salaries. So it is, and I am not urging that the universities as official bodies should stretch their budgets to meet this emergency need.

What I urge is that American scholars as individuals should consider seriously whether they care enough about academic liberty to tax themselves 1 per cent, 2 per cent, or 5, to succor their fellow scholars who are victims of political oppression. Is liberty worth a price?

The time is likely to come when the problem of academic liberty will emerge nearer home. Look out upon this world of ours we once regarded as stable and solid as our granite hills. What guaranty have we that the nation will not be swept into a frenzy of party passions, following upon an even more serious depression than we are now experiencing? What reason have we for believing that even in such circumstances the universities will remain serene havens where scholarship will pronounce calmly on the pros and cons of the political impulses struggling toward realization?

Academic freedom is necessary to the rational functioning of the modern world, but the world does not know it. Only the scholar can realize the deadening effect of unfreedom, the stimulus to creation that flows from freedom. He can not convince the world by argument that freedom is priceless to him and indispensable to the world. For the world trusts only its eyes, not its ears. What visual evidence does the scholar give that an attack on academic liberty is of consequence to him? As we act toward our fellow citizens in the republic of scholarship, so will our values be judged by the world.

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The Atom Before 1925*

JAMES KENDALL
Professor of Chemistry, University of Edinburgh

FORTY years ago almost every chemist was certain that he knew all that there was to know about the atom. It had become a sacred symbol which was placed in the holy of holies of the chemical temple and above it was engraved Dalton's dogma: "Thou knows *it must be so*, for no man can split an atom." The minute particles from which all the matter in the world is built up were indeed regarded as *ultimate* particles—indivisible, indestructible, eternal. Atoms of different types had nothing whatever in common; an atom of lead was absolutely disconnected from an atom of copper or sulphur or gold; transmutation was a foolish dream of the alchemists. If the chemist of that date ever visualized the atom he visualized it as a tiny hard round ball; it was something static; it was *dead matter*.

All this, of course, was pure hypothesis since neither the Greek philosopher Democritus (who named the atom from the Greek *a-*, not, *-tom*, divided) nor the English Quaker, John Dalton (who first gave the atomic theory an experimental basis), nor any of their followers had ever obtained any direct proof of the existence of atoms. Indirect evidence, nevertheless, was so abundant and so convincing that chemists had long been in the habit of actually comparing the weights of different atoms. To each of the chemical elements had been assigned its own "atomic weight," ranging from hydrogen, the lightest, to uranium, the heaviest; and these atomic weights were once characterized by Professor T. W. Richards of Harvard as "the most significant set of constants in the universe." They had been determined, in some cases, to the third point of decimals.

Such exact determination had been stimulated by a most unorthodox notion advanced in 1815 by William Prout, a young Edinburgh medical graduate, who suggested that all atomic weights could be expressed by whole numbers on the basis hydrogen = 1, and that the atoms of all elements might therefore be built up from more or less complex aggregates of atoms of hydrogen. At first his ideas gained

* A second article, discussing the atom since 1925, is planned for a later number.

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considerable support, but as more exact analytical methods were developed, divergences from integral values became so obvious that in 1860 the Belgian chemist Stas wrote the doom of Prout's hypothesis in the words: "I have arrived at the absolute conviction, the complete certainty, so far as it is possible for a human being to attain to certainty in such matters, that the law of Prout is nothing but an illusion, a mere speculation definitely contradicted by experience." Consequently as more and more elements were discovered, more and more fundamentally discrete forms of matter had to be recognized, until the number of distinct elements finally reached the formidable total of ninety-two.

And then, just before the end of the nineteenth century, the bubble burst—in other words, the atom split itself. Suspicion was first aroused regarding uranium, which spontaneously emitted peculiar radiations, and when Madam Curie isolated a new element, radium, which was more than two million times as "radioactive" as uranium, suspicion became certainty. Atoms of radium were found to undergo a series of disintegrations, some rapid and some slow, in the course of which atoms of the rare gas helium and charges of negative electricity were ejected, leaving as an end-product atoms of the common element lead. Only a very few of the heavier elements, all exceedingly rare, decompose of their own accord in this remarkable way, but later on it was discovered by Rutherford that a number of the common and lighter elements, such as nitrogen and aluminum, could be disrupted by exposing them to the action of the swiftly-moving helium particles ejected from radium in the course of its disintegration. One of the products of this disruption, it is important to note, was always a *hydrogen atom* with a positive electrical charge.

Thus was Prout's hypothesis disinterred and forced upon the notice of chemists once again. Since atoms are complex units and can be broken up is there some simpler unit which enters into the structure of all atoms, and is this unit connected with the lightest of all atoms, the atom of hydrogen?

Satisfactory answers to these questions were soon forthcoming. The negatively charged particles liberated in radioactive disintegrations were recognized as identical with the "electrons" produced when a high-voltage current is discharged through a vacuum tube, and it was shown by J. J. Thomson that these were essentially the same, what-

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ever element constituted the cathode from which they sprang. Now since normal atoms are electrically neutral they must carry something to balance these negative charges; units of positive electricity in quantity sufficient to neutralize the electrons must constitute a part of the structure of each atom. These wanted positive units, ultimately brought to light and called "protons," turned out to be simply hydrogen atoms which had become positively charged by the loss of a lone electron.

The idea that the heavier atoms of other elements might all be built up of aggregates of protons and electrons was first formulated systematically by Rutherford in 1911. The atom of any element was postulated as consisting of a very minute central nucleus, positively charged, surrounded by planetary electrons. The nucleus, containing all the protons, is responsible for practically the entire *mass* of the atom. The external electrons on the other hand, being placed at relatively large distances from the nucleus, are responsible for practically the entire *volume* occupied by the atom. Only in radioactive transformations does the nucleus change, ordinary chemical reactions affecting merely the external electrons.

The next step was made by Moseley, a brilliant young English physicist whose promising career was cut short by a Turkish bullet in the trenches at Gallipoli during the World War. Moseley lined up the elements like a company of soldiers on parade, and in the capacity of a sergeant-major made them call their "atomic numbers"—1, 2, 3, 4, etc., up to 92. These numbers represented, for each type of atom, the number of external electrons or, since the atom is neutral as a whole, the number of free protons in the nucleus. Hydrogen, the first element in the line, has one of each; helium, the second, has two; chlorine, the seventeenth, has seventeen; uranium, the last, has ninety-two.

The atom of helium, however, is *four* times as heavy as the atom of hydrogen, not *twice* as heavy. The difference is made up by two proton-electron pairs which are also present in the tiny helium nucleus. All atoms except hydrogen, indeed, contain such pairs, the electrons presumably functioning as a kind of "cement" to prevent the closely-packed protons from flying apart through mutual repulsion. When, in spite of these cementing electrons, the nucleus becomes too congested for stability, as it does in the case of the elements of highest atomic weight, then the atom is likely to explode spontaneously—in other

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words, it is *radioactive*. Elements with a higher atomic weight than uranium are, it may be assumed, too unstable to exist at all.

Before Prout's hypothesis in its revised form could be regarded as completely vindicated one difficulty remained to be solved—how can we account for an element such as chlorine with an atomic weight of 35.456? While the elements with atomic weights that are essentially integral are far too frequent for the agreement to be due merely to chance, there do exist many elements like chlorine with atomic weights so far removed from a whole number that it is impossible to regard them as made up of uniform aggregates of protons and electrons. The explanation, due to experimental work of marvellous accuracy and ingenuity carried out by Aston at Cambridge, is very simple, but utterly at variance with the old ideas. There are *two* kinds of chlorine atoms—one a perfect 35, the other a perfect 37—and naturally-occurring chlorine is a mixture of the two in the ratio required to give an average value of 35.456. The only difference between the two *isotopes*, as they are called, is that the heavier contains two extra proton-electron pairs in its nucleus. Externally both isotopes are exactly the same, and therefore they are chemically identical in all of their properties, since, as we have already noted, ordinary chemical reactions affect only the external electrons. A great many other elements besides chlorine have also been shown to be isotopic—for example, tin, which is a mixture of no fewer than eleven isotopes!

So far we have concentrated our consideration on the nucleus, but the arrangement of the exterior electrons is a still more important point for the chemist. Several theories covering this question have been proposed, the earliest being the "octet theory" developed by Dr. Irving Langmuir in 1919 in the General Electric Company's research laboratories at Schenectady on the basis of a "cubical atom" conceived by Professor G. N. Lewis of the University of California. The essential feature of this theory is that the exterior electrons are arranged about the nucleus of the atom in a series of concentric shells, the outermost shell of all (which is the one that really matters chemically) containing as a maximum *eight* electrons, occupying the corners of an imaginary cube. The chemical behavior of an element depends essentially upon how many of these corners are already occupied by electrons in the neutral atom. If the eight corners are all filled, as is the case with the rare gases of the atmosphere—helium, neon, argon, etc.

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—which form no compounds at all with other elements, the element is quite inert chemically. If the eight corners are not all occupied, then the atom tends to do one of two things—either to give up its outermost electrons to other atoms or to annex electrons from other atoms to complete its shell. Thus when the metal sodium, with one outermost electron, and the gas chlorine, with seven, are brought together, a vigorous reaction results through the transfer of one electron from each sodium atom to each chlorine atom, and a very stable compound, sodium chloride or common salt, is formed. In this compound the sodium and chlorine atoms are now electrically charged, the former positively and the latter negatively, and under the influence of these charges they arrange themselves in space to form a definite three-dimensional pattern of alternate sodium and chlorine atoms, seen in the mass as a cubical crystal of sodium chloride. Most inorganic compounds belong to this *polar* type. By sharing electrons with other atoms, however, atoms with incomplete outermost shells may also fill up their quota. Thus carbon, with four electrons in its outermost shell, and chlorine, with seven, give together a compound known as carbon tetrachloride, a liquid used in dry-cleaning and as a fire extinguisher, in which four chlorine atoms each share two electrons with a central carbon atom in order to make up a unit in which all five atoms have completed their "octets." Most organic compounds belong to this *non-polar* type.

As the recent award of the Nobel Prize in chemistry to Dr. Langmuir bears witness, the octet theory has been exceedingly valuable in advancing our understanding of chemical combination. The physicists, however, have always raised objections to what they called the "loafing electron," since a system of electrons sitting around at the corners of cubes turns out not to be a stable system when it is subjected to mathematical analysis. They have accordingly invented an alternative theory of atomic structure according to which the electrons are assumed to be in rapid motion around the nucleus, each travelling in a regular orbit, just as the planets in our solar system journey in orbits around the central sun. This theory was worked out in detail in 1921, mainly by a talented Danish physicist, Niels Bohr. The greater the number of external electrons the more complex become the orbits described; but they may be divided into classes which correspond, in a general way, with the successive shells of the octet theory.

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Space does not permit a description here of the applications of the Bohr theory to modern problems in physics, fascinating and successful though they be. From the purely chemical point of view, it must be confessed, the cubic atom is a better model than the crude astronomical atom of Bohr. Since 1925, moreover, the Bohr atom has fallen into the hands of the higher mathematicians and, according to present indications, when they have finished with it nothing tangible for the chemist will remain. The fashionable tendency now is to frown upon any picture or model of the atom, and the nearest we can come to defining it is as "an aura surrounding a cavity."

A final point of fundamental importance, the question of atomic energy, can also only be briefly touched upon in this article. The energy of radioactive disintegrations is enormously greater than that of ordinary chemical reactions. The disintegration of a pound of uranium would furnish enough power to drive the Leviathan across the Atlantic, and the heat given off by the disintegration of the radioactive elements existent in the earth is sufficient *alone* amply to account for the maintenance of its temperature. But now that the principle of the interconvertibility of mass and energy has been established we know that transmutations involving the release of energy in even larger amounts are theoretically possible. If some ingenious chemist were to discover how to induce four atoms of hydrogen to coalesce into one atom of helium, and if the reaction were to run out of control and proceed explosively, all of the hydrogen on the earth might be transformed at once and the success of the experiment signalled to the universe in the form of a new, exceedingly bright star!

Perhaps, for the layman, no better indication of the change that has come over our ideas regarding the atom during the present century can be given than the following extract from a book by H. G. Wells, *The World Set Free:*

> And we know now that the atom, that once we thought hard and impenetrable, and indivisible and final and—lifeless—lifeless, is really a reservoir of immense energy. That is the most wonderful thing about all this work. A little while ago we thought of the atoms as we thought of bricks, as solid building material, as substantial matter, as unit masses of lifeless stuff, and behold! these bricks are boxes, treasure boxes, boxes full of the intensest force. . . . The energy we need for our very existence, and with which Nature supplies us still so grudgingly, is in reality locked up in inconceivable quantities all about us. We cannot pick that lock at present, but—we will.

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Alma Mater's Slipper

ADDISON HIBBARD

Dean, College of Liberal Arts, Northwestern University

SINCE Chapel Hill is known throughout the state of North Carolina both as a college town and as a Democratic stronghold, the Republican Club of Carrboro, a mill town only two miles away, should have known better than to march a Republican parade into the very heart of the campus. But it didn't.

Briefly, then, it came about in this wise.

The Carrboro Republican Club—Republican, as any citizen of good standing in Chapel Hill will tell you, because the mill owners were Republican and the worker's bread was buttered on that side—well, the Carrboro Club marched some sixty strong, drums playing, flags waving, down Front Street, past the drug store and the postoffice toward the campus. The College community was agasp with excitement. Never since straggling Yankee soldiers had marched under those elms in the sixties had such an affront been offered that good Democratic community. Professors who had known the fearful days of the war and of reconstruction, students whose fathers had been good Democratic governors of the old North State, girls who boasted of the fact that they were "twenty years old before they learned that 'damned Yankee' was two words," gathered excitedly on the campus.

Something must be done! But what?

The students settled it. Fruit, vegetables, eggs—anything throwable—appeared from dormitories, dining halls, and cafeterias. Under the direction of a husky, red-headed student a barricade was stretched across Front Street near the campus. And when the Carrboro Republican Club came close enough for the embattled students to see the whites of their eyes the order was given to "fire." Bruised, stained, chagrined, the Republicans gave way. They gave *all* the way. The two miles back to Carrboro were covered quickly and efficiently. But when they departed they left behind them a problem for deans and student councils to wrestle with for days.

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What discipline should be meted out to the red-headed youth and his faithful cohorts who had dared to interrupt a manifestation of the enemy's political faith?

I've forgotten, after these twelve years, just what sort of punishment was dealt to "Red" Proctor and his followers. But it couldn't have been very severe because a few days later, while the imbroglio was still fresh in every one's mind, "Red" wrote an editorial which, despite all I've seen written and heard talked concerning college discipline, went closest to the mark of truth. Proctor's final paragraph asked,

> What is the logic back of all this student questioning of discipline and the parade of the Carrboro Republican Club? We are constantly rebellious of rules and administrative control. When a new ruling to control our study or conduct is passed we ask why we can't be treated like men and women. And then, when we make fools of ourselves and the rules begin to pinch, we beg off from our responsibility on the ground that we are, after all, only boys and girls. We ask now that the interruption of the parade be dismissed as only a college prank of boys. Some time college men must learn to act like men and undertake responsibility for their actions like men.

"Red" Proctor at the age of twenty-one was right. He saw more clearly, I believe, than have most of our gray-haired college administrators. It is time that college men and women are asked to take upon themselves the responsibilities of maturity. What this young breaker-up of Republican parades did not see—or at least did not express in his editorial—was that while he was under discipline for interfering with the parade he was, in a very real sense, the victim of conditions placed upon him by the conventions which dictate college discipline throughout the country. Our colleges *assume* that their youths are immature, erect elaborate machinery for keeping them eternally aware of their immaturity, and then punish them for the very quality which is presumed to characterize them. Since Alma Mater constantly stands over them with a slipper, it is not strange, perhaps, that now and then college youth make grimaces and indulge in pranks to test the vigilance and strength of the dear old lady.

American colleges and universities have confusedly combined many objectives. They are avowedly—if we are to accept the statements appearing in their catalogues—designed to "teach leader-

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ship," to "build character," to "make Christian citizens." Now and then a catalogue ventures to say something of learning or scholarship but in most institutions the by-products have assumed greater importance than the main product—the development of intelligence and of the habit of learning. And in this attention to social qualities, at the expense of mental, our colleges have become just about the richest example of paternalism in American civilization.

Alma Mater is becoming a step-mother.

Paternalism is in the saddle. Some institutions not only admit but insist that they stand *in loco parentis*. Capital University, for instance, while stating in its catalogue that it relies more on the "Christian loyalty and gentlemanly honor" of the students than on paternalistic methods, still declares that "for younger students it recognizes, of course, that some substitute for parental guidance is necessary" and goes on to state:

> In accepting this responsibility the college authorities endeavor to bring such control as near the character of parental care as the nature of the case will permit, endeavoring to attain this end less by constraint and dread of penalty than by the influence of persuasion and kindness.

Canisius College, at Buffalo, is equally honest:

> The regulations of the College are calculated to secure the order necessary for the effectual pursuit of studies, to develop and strengthen character, and to promote gentlemanly deportment and polite manners. They are enforced with parental gentleness combined with energy and firmness. The motives appealed to are honor, conscience, and religion.

And though not all colleges are so outspoken in their acceptance of parental responsibility, they are all pretty thoroughly actuated by the same motives.*

At Abilene Christian College we need not be told, as we are, that "college life is that of a great family . . . the discipline is parental in character" when we read that "students will not be permitted to use lamps above 75 watt." And a student who wishes to change his rooming house, at Abilene, cannot do so "without permission from

* If in this paper the institution for which I now labor is not represented by specific instances, it is not because we are more advanced than these others of which I write: it is because I claim the privilege of the witness not to give evidence which will incriminate himself.

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the President." Carrying out this life-of-a-great-family idea, Arkansas College demands that "all articles, including trunks [brought to College] should be plainly marked with the owner's name (twice on the outside and once on the inside)." At Beloit College a girl may not take a bath after 10:30 p.m. without suffering demerits. Family life would, of course, be disturbed by the running water. Further demerits, too, threaten the Beloit girl who wears mules "or any but slippers with soft soles throughout the building after the retiring bell." At Indiana University, however, home life is different. "Autos may not be used for dances or social functions unless the parents drive the car," a thing no self-respecting parent today would dare to do when John or Peggy goes to a party. At Vassar "no one may ride with a man without special permission from the warden [not a prison officer]. This includes fathers and brothers." At Wellesley "no person may stand up in a canoe," as though a violation of this regulation did not carry with it its own punishment.

One speculates pleasantly—when one reads between the lines of these regulations—on the riotous episodes which probably called the rules into existence. College professors "male and female" (and these two words to distinguish the sexes have been conventionally used in college "literature") are notable spoil-sports. Their chief pastime in the winter months in this climate is the making of rules for the regulation of youth but even so they never manage to think of enough things to tell these college people not to do, for the students can always find something that is not specifically proscribed. Yet many rules as printed carry with them the suggestion that the barn door has been locked after the horse has been stolen, that the deed has been placed on the *index expurgatorius* after the students have had the fun.

Will some good Dartmouth alumnus, for instance, share with me all the harrowing details which called for the following in the faculty regulations of that institution?

> Tampering with fire apparatus either in College buildings or in the village is prohibited.
>
> The use of firearms is forbidden in or near the College buildings and the College Park. Possession of firearms or ammunition will be considered indicative of their use under the terms of this rule.

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Just which class was it, Mr. Dartmouth alumnus, which turned the fire hose on the seniors, which frightened timid freshmen in their meeting by the firing of forty-fives? And when you let me know this, tell me as well, please, what jolly bit of acting instigated the regulation that "any case involving impersonation in any college exercise shall be reported to the Committee on Administration. Upon conviction both the impersonator and the man impersonated may be separated [the word is a delicate one] from College." Might not Dartmouth find itself without a registrar, a dean, or even a president if both impersonated and impersonator must be "separated"?

Other rules seem to carry their own stories of past episodes. One good Middle-West college makes this announcement:

> It is expected that the President and the Deans when invited to any party are to attend as guests and not in the capacity of official chaperones

as though some official chaperone had perhaps once put a question of conduct up to an administrative officer for decision and he had begged off on the ground that though present he could have no opinion because he was not an official chaperone. You see I know something of deans and presidents, being a dean myself, and recognize the official buck when I see it passing from hand to hand. And what chaperone, at this same institution, was left uncalled for until such time as the party had become too merry? At any rate the situation will not arise again since

> Conveyances [presumably a hack or an ox-cart will do] must be sent for chaperones one-half hour before a party begins. . . . Receiving lines shall be maintained, and it shall be the duty of the party manager and social committee to see that cordiality toward chaperones and recognized social courtesies be observed by all guests, including alumni. . . .

And how full of meaning that "including alumni" is!

Further evidence of this paternalistic concern for the least detail of student conduct, further evidence that our American colleges and universities maintain this one-great-family idea of government, come in the proscriptions which hedge about the living of the young women. In many of our institutions nominal self-governing associations are set up that these college women may learn restraint and self-control—a worthy objective, certainly, were the governing

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hand of the dean of women not so often visible in the regulations. "W.S.G.A." are mystic letters standing in many institutions for "Women's Self-Government Association" but often the organization is little more than a glove placed on the restricting hand of the administration that students may not so readily feel the stern clutch of Alma Mater. I don't presume to know the conditions which brought forth the following detailed regulations for women at Ohio State, but I do know that they are characteristic of rules obtaining in many of our colleges and universities. Read through the rules and ask just how leadership and initiative are developed by each proscription of conduct; try to find in the regulations a primary concern of an educational institution founded to promote intelligence and self-control:

HOUSE RULES

Time to Return from Social Engagements:

Seniors, Juniors, Sophomores on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 10:30. On Friday and Saturday, 1:00; on Sunday, 10:30.

Freshmen on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 9:30; on Friday and Saturday, 1:00; on Sunday, 10:30.

There shall be no Sunday Mid-weeks.

When a student expects to be out later than 8:00 p.m., she shall fill out the sign-out cards provided by the W.S.G.A. for that purpose.

Men callers may be allowed in a house during quiet hours until 10:30 provided: (1) Quiet hours are observed in the house. (2) This is decided by a unanimous vote of the house and a 2/3 vote of the chapter. (3) This has the consent of the head resident.

Or consider the confusion of educational purposes with paternalistic attitudes in the following from the bulletin of another college:

Use of Tobacco. The College believes that the use of tobacco in any form is injurious to the user. The management is aware of the fact that many of the best citizens use tobacco, but it does not believe that the using of it makes them better Christians or citizens. It is the purpose therefore, to discourage the use of tobacco in every way that is possible. Its use on the college campus will not be tolerated at all. No student who uses tobacco will be permitted to represent the College in any public way. This means that such students cannot represent the College in music club, public speaking contest, or any athletic team or hold office on any college publication. Since the Col-

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lege is opposed to the use of tobacco the management believe that no student who uses it should hold any position of honor or trust in any of the College activities.

Such a plethora of regulations of course sometimes brings open rebellion. Now and then a student has initiative enough—that quality the colleges desire to foster—to rebel. But the colleges have foreseen that contingency, too. Williams College carries among its "Administrative Rules" this statement:

> Any combination to resist the legitimate authority of any officer or officers of the College will be treated as a serious offense.

And I copy another regulation from the same Williams document—a regulation, by the way, appearing in the bulletins of many American colleges and insisted upon by practically all educational institutions:

> If, in the judgment of the President, the best interests of the College so require, a student may, without previous suspension or warning, be removed from the College without appeal except to the Trustees.

So, in effect, do our American colleges tell their young people: "Do these things; if they seem unwise or unreasonable to you, do them. If you don't, you will 'be removed.' "

Our colleges are as solicitous of moral conduct as of social etiquette, late hours, or tampering with fire apparatus. Bluefield College in West Virginia "does not approve of certain forms of social activity such as dancing and the playing of spot cards," though presumably "flinch" and "authors" are acceptable since they are not "spot cards." Dancing, "attending balls," automobiling (after six p.m.), billiards and pool, are by many institutions placed along with the use of liquor and drugs as equally anathema to the authorities. Yale finds it necessary in its administrative regulations to state that "ladies may not be entertained in college dormitories at any time except by the written permission of the Dean." And Brigham Young University "insists that boys and girls be housed separately"! "Separation" is the penalty at Dartmouth for violation of the "recognized standards of morality, good order, and gentlemanly be-

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haviour." And Campion College, holding that one of the most important objectives of the College is the formation of character, insists that its discipline in these matters is "unflinchingly firm, especially when the good of the student body and *the reputation of the institution are concerned*."

Twenty or more years of association with American colleges and universities have led me to believe that the above statement of Campion College, that part of it which I have taken the liberty of italicizing, really lets the college cat out of the bag. Colleges don't wish to circumscribe every act of their students in the manner these rules suggest: they do so only because they feel "the reputation of the institution" is concerned. Wellesley does not really care if a girl stands up in a canoe, faculty members at Beloit are not trying to find pleasure in the hopeless responsibility of chaperoning a party. Bluefield College does not sincerely believe that one who touches a "spot card" is eternally damned; but all these rules of all these institutions are attempts to play up to the mores and prejudices of the parents. Fathers and mothers must be convinced that their offspring will in no way change their standards or prejudices through four years at one or the other of these colleges. Colleges in America attempt to guarantee to do what the American home has failed in doing: to fix moral and social standards in the young people.

This same desire to meet the wishes of parents manifests itself in the effort of the colleges to surround the student with religious influences. The rules of Williams prescribe that "public worship shall be conducted daily in the College Chapel which exercise it shall be the duty of the students regularly and reverently to attend." A spirit of reverence, you see, is a *duty*. Carson-Newman College holds that "the College has failed with any student who does not go back to his home community a better and a stronger worker in the local church." Cedarville College in Ohio stands firm in the faith of the Covenanting fathers:

THE DECLARATION OF CEDARVILLE COLLEGE: Cedarville College was established in faith and prayer. It stands today, as it always has stood, for genuine Christianity founded upon and agreeable to the Word of God. It was chartered by the lineal descendants of the Covenanters of Scotland. It is owned and controlled by a Board of Trustees who are Presbyterians.

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(1) Cedarville College teaches the existence of the one living and true God in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
(2) That the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God and are the only infallible rule of faith and revelation of eternal salvation.
(3) That Jesus Christ is the eternally begotten Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, and is God-man, able to save unto the uttermost all who believe in him.

Two types of situation, I suspect, dictate such rules as these regarding religious observance—and they both go back to demands made upon the colleges by parents: first, the one group of fathers and mothers holds that the faith of their home shall be in no way changed by anything the student may learn at college; second, that students who have not been made religious at home, because the parents have failed, shall now be made pious by their professors!

Both purposes are impossible for a real college to fulfill. "A fugitive and cloistered virtue" is as frail and anemic a faith today as it was when Milton wrote of it. Colleges are not reform schools nor are they monasteries. They are, or should be, educational institutions. And in true education, sincerely conceived and respectfully approached, there is nothing sacrilegious or destructive for parents to fear. And, contrariwise, true education should not attempt as an objective in itself to inculcate a religious attitude or conviction not already implanted in the minds of the students by their home environment.

There are other ways in which Alma Mater, playing the rôle of the parent, forgets that her first responsibility is to develop the intelligence of young men and women and to do this through placing this responsibility in the hands of the students themselves. Students are driven to classes by a whole flock of academic rules. "A student not in class when the second bell rings," declare the rules of Centre College, "shall be marked tardy. Three tardies shall be counted as an absence and shall call for the same penalties." I miss only the note from mama to the teacher telling why Johnnie was absent. Arkansas College, like most other American institutions, sets up a most elaborate code to govern absences.

Each absence on the last day of a student's classes before Christmas and Spring Holidays and on the first day after these shall be a double cut. Each absence from an announced test shall constitute a double cut, but professors

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will not give tests on days when teams and organizations are away filling scheduled engagements.

The possible credits for any courses shall be the number of hours registered plus one-tenth of the same, but not more than 4 hours credit obtained by additional tenths from regular attendance may be counted toward graduation.

Each cut shall deduct one-tenth from the total. Thus a 3-hour course with perfect attendance would give a student 3.3 hours credit; with 3 absences 3.0 credit, with 6 absences 2.7 hours credit.

Ordinarily 4 cases of tardiness will count as 1 cut. But at the discretion of the professor, some cases of tardiness may be counted as ½ cut or even 1 cut.

Read it through. What does it mean? Are students likely to understand all its ramifications? Is it likely to develop in a son or daughter the sort of self-responsibility which we want young people to have? Is education on this basis a delightful adventure of the mind or a perfunctory task to be got through with somehow?

And yet some such abracadabra as that sets forth the rules of attendance at most of our American institutions! Is it any wonder that Max McConn asks whether our institutions are colleges or kindergartens? And how much more sensible is the absence provision stated in the bulletin of Antioch College:

> If a student finds it necessary to be away from class or conference, he is expected to take up the matter with the instructor as he would in breaking any other business or social engagement. Persistent unexcused absence will be cause for dismissal.

And so it goes. In all departments of their activity our colleges and universities control the student's every action. Publications are not to be issued without the sanction of the faculty; visiting lecturers are not to be brought to our halls without the consent of the college administrators. (These rules are promulgated by the same professors who hold most faithfully to their own privileges of freedom of speech and permanency of tenure.) For a little dishonesty in class work a student is mildly punished, for more dishonesty he is fined five dollars or a loss of certain credits already gained (as though by some legerdemain ideas already mastered could be taken away from him by an erasure of credits on the registrar's records).

Growing up in such an atmosphere of regulations the students themselves begin to make rules. Fraternities and sororities cannot

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"rush" until eight a.m. of a certain day; freshmen may not walk on certain paths, smoke in certain specified places, take women to athletic events, or appear, as at Cornell, "in public with galoshes unbuckled"; green caps must be worn until a certain date; pipes must be given up for cigarettes; pajama parades are *de rigueur*.

But enough of rules. I shall quote no more. To anyone who actually knows our colleges this charge of paternalism stood on its own feet without need of the illustrations already cited. The discouraging aspect of it all is the degree to which *all* phases of college life are circumscribed by regulation. Dormitory life, examinations, attendance, church going, chapel, social conduct, extra-curricular activities, the press and public speech, the payment of bills, canoeing, dancing, card-playing—there is nowhere anything left on which the student may exercise his own independence, ingenuity, initiative. The colleges are hot-houses growing foolish-shaped orchids; wet-nurses coddling swaddled infants; social mentors raising little baby Grundys—they are almost anything but educational institutions in which young men and women may learn to meet situations for themselves and learn responsibility through experience. That our students do not lose all power and initiative under such a régime is a tribute to the rigorous constitutions of the students rather than to the repressive systems the colleges employ.

Our colleges attempt to be—what one college deliberately avows it is—"a Puritan oasis in America." They are too often schools to develop cads and hypocrites. Since young people will always experiment, and since dancing and cards and liquor are more attractive when proscribed than when ignored, hypocrisy is at a premium. And "who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers"? Until Alma Mater throws her slipper away and takes young manhood and young womanhood by the hand as guide, philosopher, and friend, our colleges and universities will continue to turn out smug Baptists and Methodists, Rotarians and Kiwanians, Democrats and Republicans, hypocrites and pussy-footers.

No. This surveillance of every act and thought is not a function of real education. In this day of experimentation and new methods the colleges are more alive than ever before. They want honestly to meet their responsibilities to young people. They select this quality

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and reject that in an effort to pick and select educable youth. They are doing all they can to entice the student into some effort for himself. Comprehensive examinations, independent study, honors courses, reading periods—a dozen or more hopeful projects are under way in an effort to afford the student opportunity to get his education for himself. The charge of college being a "four-year house-party" has penetrated under the skin of our educational leadership.

And yet look at the rules for our house-party! They still remain in all but a very, very few of our colleges. The assumption we still make is that we are educating children. Twenty or thirty years ago students in our colleges were spoken of as college men, college women: today they are college boys and girls. And it is not that the students are so much younger or more naïve; it is that colleges have made boys and girls of men and women.

What is to be done about it? I have only one solution, a very simple one, to suggest—that the colleges wash the slate clean of all regulations but one:

> Students while in attendance at this institution are considered responsible men and women. Violations of the laws of the city, state, or country will be punishable by the statutes which apply to all citizens.

Then, in order that simple good citizenship may be maintained, each group residing in dormitories might meet at the beginning of the college year and draw up what rules the students pleased concerning baths after ten-thirty, the wearing of hard-soled slippers, and the observance of study hours.

I admit that for a few years student mortality in our colleges would probably grow by leaps and bounds. Failures would be, for a while, almost the rule rather than the exception. But the survivors of such a régime would be more mature, more responsible, more able to take their places as worthy citizens in our communities. It is not until some such major regulation as the above is put into effect and all the petty bickerings swept into the discard that colleges will return to their original function as institutions of learning. Education will then again assume its true importance; and the four-year house-party for adolescents will be over.

"But," someone objects, "you forget the really serious offenses of which students are guilty. What about that shooting affair at the

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University of Missouri? What about the boot-legging and drinking at Ann Arbor of which the papers told us? What about the Harris affair at Columbia? Are students, then, to be allowed to shoot each other in their childish pranks, to violate the Constitution of the United States, to print what they wish of the administration in college journals?" Why, yes. In the same way and to the same extent and with the same responsibilities that other citizens are allowed to do these things.

It is precisely here that most confusion regarding college discipline enters. The medieval struggle between town and gown has lost most of its picturesqueness, but it has, nevertheless, left its impress on the government of our universities and colleges. Today there is no clear-cut authority to control the irresponsible activities of young people in college. The police shut their eyes when college students are rioting and make allowance for the fact that "students are students." If an offense is placed on the police blotter the case is happily *nol. prossed* when a college officer appears. The colleges don't want police "interference." A student retires within the gates of the campus and claims sanctuary; the administrative officers of his institution even demand it for him. And then, when the matter is in the hands of the colleges, a fine or suspension is all that falls to the student who may have broken up a dance by rowdyism or rushed a "picture show" by way of showing his enthusiasm for a football victory of dear old Siwash. The students know this and rely upon it.

Here, then, are the horns of the dilemma. Students must be content to subscribe to the thousand and one rules to which they are now subject at the paternalistic hands of the colleges or they must stand up manfully before the court in a police trial, a libel suit, a criminal procedure, and take their punishments like responsible citizens.

Twelve years after the parade of the Republican Club of Carrboro I salute "Red" Proctor and acknowledge the justice of his contention: "Some time college men must learn to act like men and undertake the responsibilities for their actions like men." Even if the young people of our colleges are hardly to be thought of as matured men and women, I should rather trust the assumption that they are older than they are than that they are boys and girls to be spanked and sent to bed without their intellectual supper.

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The High Cost of Saving

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THE slashing of $400,000,000 from the allowances of 1,400,000 government pensioners, under an executive order signed by President Roosevelt on April 1, is evidence that public economy in Washington is passing from the sphere of pious aspiration into that of action. The promise of an additional quarter-billion cut in expenditure through governmental reorganization (blessed word) and perhaps two hundred millions more through federal salary reductions and post-office savings falls gratefully on the ear of the harassed taxpayer as he hands in the check that represents his liability on the shrunken income of the past year, and he thinks a bit wearily that if only the state and city would do half as well as the federal government there might be a chance for prosperity to return next year. By tradition and training he is likely to look on government as an expensive and wasteful, though probably necessary, evil, an organization that is inefficient and dishonest by comparison with the efficient and honest agencies of private business. Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that this is the typical American view. Anything that cuts taxes, therefore, is *ipso facto* a good thing. To spend less money on government is self-evident economy. But be it said flatly, to start with, that such a view is no less than silly.

For economy is not so simple. To take an illustration, the proposed savings in the federal budget enumerated above mean at least four quite different things. First, the pension cut takes purchasing power out of the hands of veterans by leaving it in the hands and pockets of taxpayers, whoever they happen to be. In refusing to bow in the temple before the great graven image of the veteran vote the President showed admirable political courage, but that fact proves nothing one way or the other about the economic results of his order. Second, government "reorganization" may mean a dozen different things—at best, true economy in the performance of increased service with the existing equipment and personnel or in the rendering of existing

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service with reduced facilities. If it is to bring a big saving, plainly it must mean a big cut in federal jobs, which is not an unimportant consideration at a time when jobs are about thirteen million short anyway. And there are alarming reports of what it is to mean in the way of wiping out important government services of long standing. Third, the salary cut is a way of asking federal employees to do the same or more work for less money—which they may or may not do, but probably will, because jobs of any kind are the scarcest of goods and a fortnightly pay check is almost the *summum bonum* to the ordinary man. Fourth, the post-office saving, we are told, is to be made largely by a straight cut in service, reducing rural free delivery—farmers nowadays get no mail, anyway, or anything else, for that matter—and cutting out delivery service in small towns where people can easily call for their mail. Doubtless the walk will be good for their health, and if they go in their cars, it will help the sale of automobiles. I have entered on this brief analysis at this point, not for the sake of criticizing the President's economy program, though I think it badly in need of intelligent criticism, but simply to suggest the diversity of the actions that may be taken in the sacred name of economy so long as it represents simply the fuzzy popular notion of cutting government expenditures. The notion, as I have said, is nonsense, and mischievous nonsense at that.

A clear concept of genuine public economy is one of the most important desiderata of American life today, and it has to take into account our whole social scheme and purpose. To use the good old term, foolishly renounced by the economists, it has to be a real *political economy*. Putting it briefly, sound public economy involves four distinct though inter-related problems: (1) The selection of the right activities for public (politically controled) as opposed to private (largely profit-making) administration, and the determination of the most helpful relation of government to privately administered enterprises of all kinds. Such selection and determination are matters for constant reconsideration and sometimes for extensive change; for social conditions obstinately refuse to stay put, and there is no real public economy unless government is intelligently adapted to the needs and desires of the citizens. There is every indication that we are entering upon a period of extensive change in government activity, and that the most important questions of economy facing us lie

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in this large field of public policy rather than in the more technical questions of political organization and finance that inevitably follow. (2) The honest and efficient organization of the public services, so that they may be performed just as well as possible, and with the minimum of expenditure compatible with such service. This, too, is a continuing task, and involves the whole great problem of the division of functions between federal, state, and local governments, as well as the organization of each government unit separately. (3) The proper division of costs as between service charges and taxes. Which services shall be charged for, and which rendered free? It may be remarked in passing that with the constant tendency to the increase of government functions, which in spite of our theories goes on here just the same as in other countries, we face the choice between continually rising taxes and increased public revenues arising out of the direct or indirect public operation of so-called productive enterprises, unless the citizen is willing to pay for public services that he has been used to getting free. (4) The selection of the best taxes to meet the cost of that part of the public services not otherwise covered. No notion of public economy which does not include all four of these considerations is worthy the attention of thoughtful people. I can do no more than touch briefly on the first point.

According to the computations of the National Industrial Conference Board the total tax collections of all government units, federal, state, and local combined, during the years 1922–29 averaged about eight and a third billion dollars annually, a sum which the board figures at something like one-ninth of the total national income during that period of prosperity. As hostile critics of government put it, for every eight days that we worked for ourselves, we worked a day for the government. But in fact, despite the inefficiency and waste of government, most of us would be hard put to it to find another ninth of our expenditure that yields us satisfactions comparable either in amount or in quality with what we get out of government; for when we say government we must recall the enormous complex of public agencies that touch our lives every day and every hour, and the personnel of millions that it includes—President, air-mail pilot, weather man, track hand on the Alaskan railroad, forest ranger, packing-house inspector, surrogate judge and traffic officer, letter carrier and clerk in the marriage license bureau, professor of Greek in the state

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university and laborer in the street-cleaning department. In the years preceding the depression local governments were spending about half the total tax collections, state governments about one-seventh, the federal government about one-third.

In the prosperity years the federal government was paying from a third to two-fifths of its income for so-called "protection"—that is, war-making preparations and veterans' payments—and an approximately equal amount for interest and debt redemption arising out of war. In other words, from three-quarters to four-fifths of the federal money was used to pay for the luxury of war. From the standpoint of some of us this share represents something immensely worse than sheer waste, but if our fellow-citizens insist on having wars, they cannot logically refuse to foot the bills, even though they do logically object to a large-scale system of retail graft in pension bills. The remaining one-fifth to one-quarter of our federal expenditures, considerably less than a billion dollars a year, covers all other government activities. Less than half of it is used for general government purposes, the remainder for a bewildering variety of uses, almost every one of which can offer a good reason for existence, and practically none of which can be cut out without doing real social injury.

Let no one deceive himself, then, as to the meaning of cuts running into tens or hundreds of millions of dollars in this part of the federal budget. Some decrease in governmental expenditure may be achieved by the elimination of overlapping (though much less than is commonly supposed), and by improvements in organization made possible of adoption by emergency pressure; but much of it will be accomplished, and can be accomplished, only by cutting out or decreasing important services now rendered by the government. Such decreases are not a good thing, but a very bad thing, and their results will extend far beyond the present emergency; for the organizations for performing those services will be disrupted and their trained personnel will be lost. For example, *The New York Times* reports that "whole bureaus and fields of activity are literally eliminated, particularly in scientific work." The scientific work of the Department of Agriculture, it is stated, is practically all to disappear or to be sent to other departments, while extension work and experiment stations are to be eliminated—and this at a time when we are to impose a fresh tax of perhaps eight hundred millions to help the farmer. If this be econ-

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omy, make the most of it. It appears a good deal more like the action of a man who should chop down his house in a time of fuel shortage. And it is not agriculture alone which will suffer from the swinging of Budget Director Douglas's ax.

Exactly the same thing is happening, of course, as every well-informed person knows, in our state and city governments. Services of the utmost value to the present and future welfare of the people are being starved to death because we do not know how to find the funds for their support. Let no one imagine that by economizing on our schools and public-health services and recreation facilities and welfare institutions we are making the public savings that, as we say, the depression is forcing on us. Starvation is not economy, and no words can make it such.

Our cities, towns, and villages, which among them have been spending considerably more than the federal government and the states put together, use more than a quarter of their income for schools and another sixth for social welfare agencies of all kinds. The corresponding figures for the states in 1928 were 28 and 13 per cent. Two-fifths of all state and local revenue thus goes to the training of the young and to public care for the welfare of citizens. Who does not know something, at least, of the tragic curtailment that has overtaken these fundamental services as the depression has dragged along and our states and cities have had to devote more and more of their depleted tax income to the grim task of keeping their citizens alive? To blame our present plight on public extravagance and to expect to correct it by cutting public expenses is laughable, but the jest is bitter.

It is true that during the culminating years of the golden decade our states were spending a third of their income on roads, and that some of them were borrowing at a furious rate for road-building purposes. It is true that our children today are in many cases studying in million-dollar high schools when probably they might be learning just as much in buildings costing a quarter less. But were roads a phenomenon due in some way to the unique perversity and unbridled extravagance of politicians? Do we even have more and better roads than we want, even if we cannot afford them now? In fact, when the automobile came a quarter of a century ago to a country without roads, the people rose up in their flivvers and demanded that the poli-

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ticians give them roads. The politicians accordingly got the roads built for them—on the whole with no more graft and bribery, I venture to assert, than would be found in a corresponding amount of private business if the facts were correspondingly known. And are million-dollar high schools, after all, such bad institutions? Somehow the millions we squandered on them seem to be serving us quite as well as the vastly more numerous millions that we poured into the coffers of Samuel Insull and other eminent exponents of the divine art of getting something for next to nothing. In fact, public extravagance in the United States has not been the result of the original sin of government, but has been a reflection of a private extravagance vastly more costly and far-reaching; and the public extravagance has left behind it monuments of public utility and often of beauty that go on serving the people through the generations. Even Boss Tweed gave New York its Central Park.

None of this is to deny the basic importance of genuine public economy in the fourfold sense above defined. It is rather to assert that very importance in denying that the term economy may rightly be applied to any policy of cutting public expenditures without thought for long-term consequences. Public economy in the true sense is more important, perhaps, than ever before, for the reason that we are seeing at the moment and are plainly going to see for the immediate future, without any distant speculations about communism or fascism, a big increase of public as over against private activity. That amiable slogan of the past gold-plated decade when big business could take care of itself and everybody else, "Less government in business," already sounds like a voice from the tombs. Rugged individualism is on the rocks, and its sturdy captains are sending out S O S signals for government aid. The federal government has been nursing the railroads along ever since the War. Today, in spite of legislation designed to assure them a "fair return" and in the face of generous loans from our great government pawnshop, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, some of them are bankrupt in name and plenty of them in fact. No informed man would be startled to see an irresistible movement on Washington by security holders, with the insurance companies and savings banks marching in the van, to compel the government to take over the roads and run them as the sole possible condition to their general solvency. A year and a

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half ago a billion and a half of public money was hastily put up by the government, largely to shore up a tottering banking structure. In spite of that action the whole structure came down with a crash at the beginning of March. The government is now trying to clear away the wreckage, with an estimated six billions of deposits still solidly frozen in the Arctic ice of the banks that remain closed. Our farmers, tempted by the lure of fantastic prices for their products, piled an enormous land debt on top of themselves during the War. It promptly proceeded to crush them, and they turned piteous faces toward Washington. The last administration poured half a billion dollars into the Farm Board gopher hole, and the present administration is preparing to pour an estimated eight hundred millions into various Farm Relief prairie-dog holes, frankly as an experiment. Experiments are interesting; so are brains. At any rate these new millions will find good company in the fifteen hundred millions already poured into the Reconstruction Finance Corporation rat hole. I write in these extreme terms of a few outstanding instances simply to illustrate the present inextricable connection of government with what we are pleased to call private business, and the impossibility of reaching any conclusion about what is really public economy without having a clear idea of the present and prospective place of government in the general social scheme.

An example may make the point clearer. What is true public economy in dealing with the railroads? To save a million or two by starving the Interstate Commerce Commission? To cut off further loans to near-bankrupt roads? Plainly such measures accomplish nothing significant. By universal consent the railroads must be consolidated and properly related to the buses and trucks on our highways and the ships on our waterways if we are to have an efficient and economical transportation service adequate to the needs of a vast country like this. And there is not the remotest possibility of getting such action except through government initiative. Some of us would solve this problem and the related financial puzzle by outright government ownership of the roads, thus getting rid of the conflicting private interests that now bedevil the task. But whatever policy be adopted in place of the present policy of drift, it is clear that the only really important question of public economy involved is that of whether or not the public agency required does actually do its job

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well, and at a reasonable cost. The result of a wrong policy may be, and at present is, to saddle on the country costs many times greater than those needed to administer a right one. The same thing may be said of public economy in respect to money, banking, agriculture, power, coal, oil, forests, and other important economic interests. Each of them imperatively demands government action—not simply legislation, but administration, not sporadic or occasional, but constant and constantly growing. The lack of such action means huge social losses many times exceeding the whole cost of government. Indeed, we are approaching that point in social development where such a lack may even mean the wreck of our whole social scheme, as the present long-continued depression forcibly reminds us. No genuine government economy is possible without a well-considered plan of our social scheme as a whole. Lacking such, we pour out millions here and tens of millions there, and then blame our government for its wastefulness.

The present troublous period is no time for an indiscriminate slashing of public expenditures and public services in a spirit of panic and scuttle. It is rather a time for thoughtful reconsideration of the values in American life and a reexamination of the adequacy of our institutions to the ends we have in view. In such an examination we shall find much that is sound and adequate; we are fools and cowards if we suffer it to be injured under stress of the depression. But we shall find much also that is outworn and inadequate. In scrapping relentlessly the machinery of government fitted to the control of the stage coach and the corner grocery we must build new machinery that will enable our people to get the utmost possibilities of the life residing in the electric motor and the radio and the vast sources of power that are being so rapidly unlocked. It is a new government, with new ends and new agencies, and vast new problems with which to deal, that we have now to build. Old values and old machinery are crashing down in the depression. The true task of public economy is to build thoughtfully and clear-sightedly, utilizing all the old experience, but realizing that new conditions demand new policies and new agencies. If we would avoid chaos, we would do well to economize in that spirit.

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Salvaging Our Literature*

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SINCE the first formal academic instruction in American literature was offered some fifty years ago at the University of Michigan, the study of that subject has made remarkable progress in institutions of higher learning in the United States. In the lower schools, of course, reading selections from patriotic authors is a practice almost as old as the Republic itself; but at the university level courses in American literature had to wait upon the slow acceptance of English literature as a university subject in place of Latin and Greek. For better or for worse the battle for English literature has now been won; and American literature shares with English literature some degree of academic respectability. But the American literature scholars do not yet feel that their subject has received the place it should have, and when we ask why this should be so, we are confronted with some interesting problems of interpretation.

Naturally, when, in any given department of English, the great majority of the staff members are men in English literature, the American literary contingent is bound to be small. Probably more doctoral dissertations are turned out yearly in the Elizabethan period alone than appear in the field of American letters; and the young instructor, anxious to win his spurs, is likely to think that salvation lies in Miltonic scholarship rather than in an examination of the novels of William Dean Howells. If Greek and Latin letters are the source of European literature, the half-realized background against which the study of any modern language has to be carried on, English literature serves us in America in much the same stead; and just as superior academic gentility was once supposed to lie with the professor of Greek, so superior academic gentility now lies with the professor of English. The situation is a natural one in many ways; the sheer bulk of English literature is vastly greater than the bulk of American letters, it has a longer duration in point of time, and many more, though I will not say proportionately more, geniuses to its

* An address delivered at the University of California in Los Angeles.

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credit. Every one is supposed to know Shakespeare and Milton and Pope, though, curiously enough, every one is not expected to know Emerson and Hawthorne and Lowell, in the land which gave them birth and which their geniuses illuminated. Departmental requirements for majors in literature customarily stipulate the great English classics as subjects for students to become acquainted with, but only rarely do they require the American undergraduate to know thoroughly the literature of his own country. Of course, one would like the student to know both, but it would seem odd, to an impartial stranger, that the sophomore is expected laboriously to dig Falstaff's jokes out of learned footnotes, but that he is not required to know the jokes of that equally great humorist, Mark Twain. I am not complaining because the student is exposed to *Macbeth;* I am merely hinting that I think *The Mysterious Stranger* quite as powerfully raises the problem of the mystery of evil.

Now colleges are conservative places, and one must not be impatient with them. There are signs that the higher study of American letters is gradually coming to occupy the place it should have in American universities and that, without in the least derogating from the reverence we owe to Shakespeare and Milton and Pope and Wordsworth, we shall come by and by to believe that if the Americans knew Thoreau and Hawthorne and Whitman and Emerson and William James, it might be a very good thing for all of us. I think that American literature must come to occupy an increasingly important place in the college curriculum, and my reasons for thinking so are that American literature, past and present, is coming slowly to occupy an increasingly important place in the American mind. Not to speak of the neo-humanists who are laboring away with unabated zeal to prove that the national letters are mostly pernicious, I see on all sides an increasing concern for the significance of our literary traditions to the cultural development of the American people. It is with regard to certain phases of this renewal of interest—this renaissance of American literary scholarship—that I should like to speak.

The Victorian age in America ended somewhere between 1910 and 1914. The twentieth century had scarcely got under way when, owing to a variety of causes, the national self-complacency characteristic of the Roosevelt era commenced to exhibit a mood of self-examination, a desire to reappraise American values. This critical attitude toward

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values, past and present, was in part owing to the World War; and its expression was such magazines as *The New Republic* and the revamped *Nation*, and the appearance of such books as *Civilization in the United States: An Enquiry*—perhaps it should have been called an inquest—*by Thirty Americans*. In the midst of the general self-castigation a group of the then younger literary generation—writers like John Macy, Louis Untermyer, Van Wyck Brooks, and H. L. Mencken—took a casual glance at our literary past and discovered with alarm that we were full of repressions. The wrong writers had been exalted and the right authors had been neglected, wrong ways of writing had been followed, and even such of the classics as they approved of had not, it seemed, been rightly understood. When the smoke of battle cleared away, the mangled limbs of Bryant, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes, Longfellow, Howells, and a good many other American authors strewed the field; Irving tottered on his pedestal; Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne had received totally new coats of paint; Poe had lost his whitewash—so the younger men declared; Mark Twain was discovered to have been suffering from dark Freudian desires to be Elizabethan, and Whitman and Herman Melville —an author whom Barrett Wendell had dismissed in exactly one sentence in his *History*—had been exalted to the skies.

The general slaughtering was mainly confined to New York City, but presently a younger group of professors took up their weapons, and went gunning, not for literary men, but for literary ideas. American literary history had previously been written by pious pedagogues or patriotic historians—men like Moses Coit Tyler, Brander Matthews, and Edmund Clarence Stedman—and they had written, it appeared, on totally false principles. An American Parnassus had been set up on wrong architectural plans, and the new group of academic critics complained that the structure was faulty. To abandon this mixed figure, the complaint was that the classifications commonly employed in the histories of American letters were meaningless and misleading; that the true cultural factors which have shaped literature in this country had been overlooked; and that literary historians, keeping their eye on the extraordinary successes of American historians in social history and economic determinism, should attempt something similar in the history of the American mind. The creed of this group was written in a volume called *The Reinterpretation of*

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American Literature, which some of you, I am sure, know, and the general purpose of the essays contained therein was to point the road to a sounder reading of our literary past. Even before this symposium appeared, the first of Professor Louis Parrington's volumes was off the press—somewhat to the alarm of certain of the symposiasts, to be sure, for Mr. Parrington went the whole way of economic determinism, paid very little attention to *belles lettres* except as occasional examples of genteel futility, and showered praise on authors whom many of us had never read. By and by a learned periodical, *American Literature*, was founded, doctoral candidates increased and multiplied, and certain schools like the University of Maine, the University of Chicago, and the University of North Carolina acquired repute as centers of this higher—and newer—study of the American past. The point at issue was—as usual in our literary history—what makes American literature "American."

The term "Americanism," like a great many other general terms, is really indefinable. We can say, however, that a consciousness of "Americanism"—that is to say, of a specific difference in tone and value between writing done in or about the New World and writing done in England—early appears in the history of our letters, and though for almost two centuries this new something was mixed in with colonial deference to the standards of London, it is really there. I should say that this "something" consists in the consciousness, more or less felt, that the New World offered opportunities for significant social experiment not available in the old. The intellectual life of seventeenth century New England was largely dominated by this idea—in this case, the dream of a saintly utopia—but something of the sort hovers around Virginia, around William Penn's magnificent project, around the founding of Maryland, around John Locke's constitution for Carolina and around Oglethorpe's original idea for the colony of Georgia. In another set of terms one also finds this sense of difference in writing which tries to describe the remarkable flora and fauna of the new lands, their mineral riches, their landscapes, and all their wonders. In this sense the frontier has always been an important note in our letters, but as I shall presently show I think the present rage for finding frontier influences in everything from Davy Crockett to Henry James's novels is, as Paley remarked of venomous snakes, somewhat overdone.

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But while the earlier colonial writers were conscious of a felt difference in life here as opposed to life there, there is little evidence to show that they felt and wrote consciously as Americans. For that something else was needed—some dramatic event around which emotion and tradition could crystallize; and I am inclined to believe that the single event which first tended to part American literature from English literature was not an event in literary history at all, but in political history; it was the capture of Louisbourg by colonial troops under Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts Bay. The colonials dreaded the French, the Indians, and the Jesuits as they dreaded hell; and the fact that a colonial army, practically unaided by the British, had conquered the Gibraltar of North America sent a thrill of pride through the colonies north and south. Through the eighteenth century one finds that tract and pamphlet, speech and sermon, refer with gratification to this accomplishment, whether it is cited as a proof of loyalty to the British King or as a threat to the British ministry. The success at Louisbourg crystallized the vague floating feeling of being other-than-Europe. And with that event the troubles of the historian of American letters began.

For the capture of Louisbourg has nothing to do with literature except indirectly. But if it has nothing to do with literary values, it has, on the other hand, a great deal to do with patriotic values, and the difficulty of American literary historians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been to keep the two separate. The growing sense of difference fed upon this achievement of American arms, and when, after the French and Indian wars, the British government embarked upon the relatively sound policy of asking the colonies to pay some part of the cost of a world war, the end of the argument was, as every one knows, the American Revolution. But though the American Revolution represents a real conflict in ideas, it is again mainly a political event, not a literary one, though it had disturbing repercussions on cultural values. The colonials, proud of their self-sufficiency, became Americans, proud of their independence—that is to say, a people who felt that the utopia which had been the dream of the Old World was about to be built in the shape of a republic embodying social justice. But such a utopia must also produce a culture and a literature of its own, a literature as independent of Europe as democratic government was supposed to be independent of the effete

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monarchies of the East. Unfortunately a new nation does not automatically produce a new literature, and when British writers sneeringly inquired, "Who reads an American book?" the Americans had only two possible retorts, and used them both. They replied that, whatever the quality of their literature might be, its quantity, all things considered, was impressive, and in the efforts at sheer numbers they included dictionary makers like Noah Webster and medical gentlemen like Dr. Benjamin Rush among the products of the American muse. And they said that even if the sophistication of effete Europe was lacking in the literary work of the United States, our writers were gentlemen of irreproachable morals and sterling patriotism. So wrong-headed did this confusion of patriotism and poetry become that you will find a good many histories of American literature which state that nothing produced in this country before 1776 is legitimately American because before that time our writers were subject to the British crown!

With the rise of Irving and Bryant and the subsequent development of the great New England group the Americans, of course, had something more substantial to show. Here were geniuses that even the Tories had to admire. Unfortunately for the truth of history the rise of the New England geniuses was coincident with the rise of the abolitionist movement, and as the Revolutionary War proved epochal in one phase of literary history, the Civil War proved epochal in another. For the triumph of the Northern armies seemed to imply the eternal rightness of New England ideas, with the result that the intellectual life of the antebellum South has had less than justice done to it and that New England literature has undoubtedly been overvalued. Moreover, the South lay prostrate under the carpet-baggers, its schools and colleges crippled by reconstruction and poverty, and could not protest while New England supplied textbooks for the nation. Naturally, these textbooks glorified New England ideas, so that a man like Lowell, who had almost no original ideas, but whose politics were right, received great space, and men like Chancellor Harper of South Carolina or Professor Dew of William and Mary, both of whom really were great original thinkers, but whose politics happened to be wrong, were utterly ignored. Almost the only Southern writers that school children heard of were Poe and Captain John Smith; and though a writer like Simms might receive a passing para-

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graph, Cooper and Hawthorne divided the field of fiction between them, despite the fact that Simms was a prodigious worker, that some of his novels are quite as good as most of Cooper's, and that his Indians and frontiersmen as a group are probably much better done.

During the period of the great transcendentalists and the great abolitionists the New England philosophy of life had what I may call a fighting edge. Transcendentalism was partly a protest against mere rationalism, partly a protest against industrialism, partly a protest against religious bigotry. Unfortunately it won none of these three battles. Applied rationalism in the form of inventive genius produced large-scale production, and with the triumph of the industrial half of the country in the Civil War, transcendentalism lost its fighting edge. The New England intellect decreased in vitality; it became what modern critics have sardonically christened the genteel tradition; it lost sap and vigor; and while the hollow shell of the building remained, the life of the movement was gone. But the power of prestige maintained a factitious life, even if the soul had fled; and American taste, powerfully influenced by Victorian England, tended to believe that literary righteousness lay with writers like Edmund Clarence Stedman, Rose Terry Cooke, and other amiable worthies, turning an indifferent shoulder on really vital people like Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. The famous dinner at which Clemens delivered what he thought was a funny speech while polite Boston listened in frozen silence is an example of the distance which came to separate the livest spirits of the country from the official literary standards of the nation; or, if that event is unfamiliar, I may instance William Dean Howells as an example of what happened to a really great spirit under the influence of the genteel tradition. Equipped with all the talents which a novelist might desire, seeing that a realistic approach was the only sure way to create an American art, Howells gave forth an enormous output today little read. Most of it is merely amiable, merely well-intentioned; readers feel that he seldom gets below surfaces; and marvellous as his novels are in catching the external characteristics of certain types of Americans, only one or two of them escape from that faint, gentlemanly futility of which critics complain. The genteel tradition gave Howells exquisite taste, but the genteel tradition also prevented him from really coming to grips with the artistic problem in such a way as to permit him to create great art.

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One has but to compare Howells with a writer like Tolstoy, whom he very much admired, to sense what Howells might have become; and the gap between *Anna Karenina* and *War and Peace* on the one hand, and *A Modern Instance* and *A Hazard of New Fortunes* on the other, is the measure of the decay of the New England formula.

Meanwhile, historians dissatisfied with the interpretations which political liberalism had brought to national development, turned to economic determinism for a deeper explanation, a truer reading of American life; Professor Turner produced his classic essay on the frontier in American history, the Civil War was re-interpreted as a conflict between the industrial and the agrarian systems of political economy, the constitution was re-read as an economic document, and the final result of all this re-arrangement of values may be seen in so popular a work as *The Rise of American Civilization* by Charles and Mary Beard. Presently, as I have already indicated, there were determined efforts on the part of critics and college professors to bring literary history under the new roof of economic determinism; Professor Foerster produced his celebrated four-fold formula—Puritanism, the frontier, romanticism, realism—as the determinant factors of our literary development; and Professor Parrington published his great work, *Main Currents of American Thought*, unhappily dying before the three volumes were completed. Since *Main Currents* exemplifies the strength and weakness of the current interpretation of American literary history, let us analyze it as an example of how our contemporaries interpret the tradition of the national thought.

Main Currents of American Thought is perhaps the only work of original importance in the field of American literature to appear since Tyler's great histories of Colonial and Revolutionary literature; and if we except Woodbridge Riley's histories of American philosophy, it is perhaps the only great work which purports to be a history of the American mind. It is a brilliantly written, an incisive, an unforgettable masterpiece, a daring interpretation, a work of profound individuality. It is not, it does not pretend to be, a history of American literature, though, as most of its material is of the kind customarily called literary, it has been accepted as a document in this field. The thesis of the three volumes is, like that of the Beards' book, the assumption that a profound conflict runs throughout American history

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—the conflict of a group of ideas and attitudes which we may call liberalism with an opposite group of ideas and attitudes which we may call conservatism. In a sense Professor Parrington has simply seen in the whole course of American intellectual history the classic contrast between the ideas of Jefferson and the ideas of Hamilton, but this is no measure of his true originality, which consists in the skill with which he has applied his formula and the patience with which he has worked it out.

In his introduction to Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* the late J. B. Bury remarked that it is probably impossible to write good history without a bias. Professor Parrington's history has a bias. Like Macaulay he was enthusiastic for the good cause, and for him the good cause is the cause of Jeffersonian liberalism. If, as is inevitable, this leads the author to be unfair to the great conservatives, especially the conservatives of New England, it has led to a refreshing independence of judgment. Professor Parrington was not content to follow the calf-paths laid out by generations—dare I say it?—of collegiate cows; he builds a Roman road all his own through history. He brings to light thinkers we have forgotten and shows their importance; he gives a good deal of space to Southern literature; he does a good deal of useful damage to some of the American classics. Naturally, since he could not read everything, his work suffers here and there from a lack of first-hand acquaintance with his materials; naturally one may quarrel with the proportioning of space among his various authors whereby Longfellow receives very little discussion and John Pendleton Kennedy receives, in relation to his importance, a great deal. But defects like these are inevitable and human; the point for us is to determine whether, after all our failures, Professor Parrington has put us at last on the right track in interpreting the history of American literature.

Well, I am a great admirer of Professor Parrington's brilliance and courage and industry; I wish I had anything to offer as masterly; but I can not escape feeling that, after examination of the evidence, certain fatal defects appear. If there were only one system of economic interpretation to which all would agree, such an interpretation as his might indeed be the final word, but unfortunately this is not the case; and, furthermore, since it is really impossible to write history in terms of economic determinism without some sort of a

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formula, a formula the writer must have. Professor Parrington, it is clear, is an enthusiastic Jeffersonian; for him the conservatives are the enemy; and though he tries honestly to be fair he can not be sympathetic with the conservatives. Moreover, a formula, however necessary, over-simplifies the story; and though the conflict between liberal and conservative is certainly deep rooted in American history, it is not unique to the United States, it is not the whole story, and it does not take a great deal of reading in *Main Currents* to discover that only by exercising a vast deal of ingenuity was Professor Parrington able to get all of his material into the equation. Large areas of American printed material are simply omitted from his discussion. Not to speak of certain important authors who are not analyzed at all, it would appear to be of profound significance in American development that the dime-novel formerly had enormous vogue; that the fictions of Augusta J. Evans Wilson, Laura Jean Libbey, E. P. Roe, and Mary J. Holmes have been devoured by thousands of readers or that Bulwer-Lytton's tinsel pictures of aristocratic life were once widely read; and if one waives, as Professor Parrington frequently does, the whole question of esthetic valuation, it appears that reading of this sort must have influenced the desires, the taste, the education of thousands of Americans. Now if it be retorted that such books do not really represent the American mind and have no place in literary or intellectual history, the answer is inevitable that there is no middle ground between writing a history of American thinkers and writing social history, and if one goes in for social history, the popularity of Laura Jean Libbey is a fact of primary importance for study. But of course one is getting farther and farther away from literary values all the time.

Moreover, there is a simple assumption made by Professor Parrington which seems to me to call into question the final value of his work. The reader soon discovers that politicians, political economists, statesmen, and publicists interest him more than anybody else; for such men are interested in the direct expression of economic and social ideas. When he comes to discuss a writer like Howells or Longfellow, moreover, it is the social and economic implications of their writings on which he dwells. But are social and economic ideas the only ideas which have influenced the American mind? Will it do to dismiss Longfellow as casually as Mr. Parrington does, when no writer has

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been more universally popular? Popularity of this kind means profound influence. Longfellow created for us a vast Protestant poetry comparable to the beautiful legends which abound in Roman Catholicism. More than any other writer he wreathed the dreary waste places of New England theology with flowers. Shall we say that he is of little significance because his anti-slavery poems—almost his only economic utterance—are weak? Or, in view of the vast imaginative appeal of Edgar Allan Poe for a century shall we therefore dismiss him, as Mr. Parrington does, in a page and a half for the simple reason that he was on the side neither of Jefferson nor Hamilton—an assumption, incidentally, that is open to question? Quite clearly, it seems to me, a work of this sort rules out a great variety of important intellectual influences because they do not fall within the formulæ of economic determinism.

Indeed, is it not the simple fallacy of the economic historians generally that they have simply clothed in new garments the old economic man of the classical economists? Are we so convinced of the truth of philosophies of the unconscious that we are prepared to reduce all kinds of human desire to the rationalization of one or two impulses, and is it not the lesson of literature that life is more complicated, and in a sense more genuine, than some of our sociological friends are prepared to admit? Shall we say that the white heat of moral indignation which burns in Whittier's abolition poems are nothing more than a formulary by which New England capitalism raised the tariff, or that the dream of the saints in colonial New England that they might found the city of God on earth is a mere hypocritic cloak for land-hunger and a hankering to put sand in the sugar? Is it not the dangerous weakness of an economic reading of the past that it too often results in a kind of unhistorical history, and that we, reading the motives of the men of past generations in terms of our own pressing problems, tend to see the past in formulæ of the present instead of reading it by its own interests? And if each generation, to some degree, reconstructs the past in its own image, is that fact an argument for erecting human fallibility into a dogma, and for finding fault with men like James Russell Lowell because they saw no farther into the future than their critics do, or for condemning the whole course of New England development as James Truslow Adams does because the road of monopoly from the Governor's council of

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Massachusetts-Bay to the Insull failure is very clear to Mr. Adams, however unprophetic Cotton Mather may have been? To me economic determinism as an historical procedure conceals some dangerous fallacies, and much of the historical writing of our time seems just a little bit naïve. Indeed, to my way of thinking there is a striking similarity between Mr. Adams' books and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia.* Cotton Mather was convinced that the whole course of human history was providentially directed to the establishment of Boston churches; and Mr. Adams seems equally certain that the whole course of history has led to the manipulation of the stock market. And the final absurdity of economic determinism as a principle of critical interpretation can not be more clearly revealed than by the controversy which has been raging in New York literary circles over the real worth of Thornton Wilder's beautiful novel, *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*, Michael Gold decrying the book because it contained no argument against social inequality. The complete surrender of critics like Malcolm Cowley, V. F. Calverton, and Edmund Wilson to economic determinism as the only realistic principle of literary interpretation is simply the logical result of economic determinism among our historians. For these writers all literature becomes simply the expression of class war. Style, structure, insight, drama, narrative technique—all that we mean by the esthetics of literature becomes meaningless. Surely the force of nonsense can no further go.

In dramatic contrast to these puerilities is Lanson's great work, the *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, possibly the finest history of any literature ever written, a book whose sanity, critical acumen, intelligence, and above all cultivation, show us how much we have still to accomplish in the study of American letters. And it is curious and important for us to see that as early as 1894, when the first edition of this work appeared, Lanson had already pointed out the error into which many of our own literary historians have fallen. "Through an unfortunate superstition," he says, "for which neither science itself nor the scientists are responsible, people have tried to impose the scientific form on literature, they have come to value only positive knowledge." And after quoting a phrase of Renan's to the effect that the study of literary history is destined to replace in great part the direct reading of works of the human spirit, the great French critic says bluntly: "This phrase is the very negation of literature. It leaves

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literature existing only as a branch of history—the history of manners or the history of ideas." Literary study, he goes on to say, draws upon a certain number of the exact sciences to guide its judgments; nothing is more legitimate, he remarks, than using the scientific method to clarify our ideas, to order our impressions, and to represent with some sort of system the march, the growth, the transformation of literature. But, he adds, it is necessary never to lose sight of two things: literary history has for its subject the description of individualities, and it has for its basis individual intuitions. Our literary historians have latterly adopted the methodology of science, it is true, but, quite clearly, they have neglected to remember that the description of individualities, that individual intuitions are two things which the literary historian neglects at his peril.

What, then, is needed in the study of the development of American literature? What we need is quite clearly a union of scientific training with the critical temper; and it is as wrong to neglect the scientific training and emphasize only the critical temper, as the neohumanists incline to do, as it is to neglect the critical temper and emphasize only the scientific formula with the economic historians.

Passing on to the suggesting of certain broad elements which might profitably be emphasized in the future study of American literature in our colleges and universities, I think, in the first place, that professors of the subject might begin by abandoning the attitude of faint apology, the inferiority complex if you will, which sometimes distinguishes them. American literature requires no apology whatsoever. There is no other example in the whole history of the civilized world of a quick springing up of the intellectual life on virgin soil like that of the future United States. Fortunately for us the early colonists, particularly the abused New Englanders, were not conscious of founding American literature; what they did was simply to transfer to these shores a share of the rich cultural heritage of the Renaissance. We have looked upon their writing as dull or outmoded. It is neither, once the proper point of view is taken, and the point of view which should be taken is to see our seventeenth century literature as part of the late Renaissance world. Instead of regarding Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* as the naïve chronicle of a pious bigot or the hypocritical clothing of economic purpose in religious phraseology, let us look at it as a Renaissance document; let us study

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it in the light of Renaissance historical writing; let us observe how Bradford has Livy and Tacitus and Thucydides in the back of his mind as he writes—how the whole Renaissance concept of the good state and the good ruler as these are expressed by, let us say, Erasmus in his book on *The Christian Prince*, have become bone and sinew of William Bradford's personality; for then, and then only, will his *History* take on significance. Our seventeenth century colonials are part of the European seventeenth century; they share, and make over, its intellectual inheritance; yet this point of view, which seems fairly obvious, has been almost wholly neglected by American historians who, in too many cases, literally do not know enough to see and understand the significance of the works they are describing.

Or, as we enter the eighteenth century—that period which even graduate students mainly know as a dim background for Jonathan Edwards—the future historian will observe that the New World is not divorced from Europe; that the same battle over style which Professor R. F. Jones has been studying in England is fought in America; that the Newtonian universe, with all those implications for thought and esthetics which are being studied in English literature, was quickly accepted here, making for profound changes in the American mind. The time sense of the colonials was profoundly modified—the very almanacs, so much better than our modern ones, testify to the change. American historical writers in the colonial eighteenth century also adopt the new ways of the human mind, and are in skill, in documentation, and in probity—alas! that they lack the higher graces of literature—quite the equal, and in some cases the superior, of English historians contemporary with them. Descriptive writing increased as the fascinations of landscape and plant and animal were more deeply felt, and it is just possible that the new feeling for nature here anticipated the British development. Every one admires the prose style of Franklin and Jefferson; yet so incurious have our literary historians been that it has occurred to no one to inquire why in less than a century American prose passed from the cumbrous splendors of Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour* to the polish, the ease, the perfect transparency of Franklin or Jefferson—and it was not, I assure you, the study of an odd volume of the *Spectator* which wrought the change.

In the second place, we must, paradoxically enough, cease being

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American in the narrow sense in order to become American in richer meaning. In their searching for "Americanism" literary historians have resolutely turned their backs on all other literatures. The influence of German thought upon us has, it is true, been partially studied, but we are almost wholly ignorant of the influence of French literature and philosophy upon us, though that influence, whether by attraction or repulsion, has been constant and important from almost the day of our founding. Equally uncertain is the effect of Spanish literature in this country, though we contributed to Spain its first, and for a long time, its only, literary history in Ticknor's classic study. I sometimes think that Emerson's famous essay on "The American Scholar" has done as much harm as good. It sealed too many minds to Europe. It has been wrongly interpreted to mean that American literary history must perforce, if it be American, develop in isolation. But we have been fertilized by every wind that blows across the Atlantic, and if I have mentioned foreign influences upon us, what shall I say of our relations to British letters? Of Wordsworth's vogue in this country we know something, but of the American interest in Carlyle, in Scott, in Bulwer-Lytton, in Milton, in Tennyson, in Dickens, in Oscar Wilde, what do we really know? Yet the bound volumes of American periodicals (to look no farther) teem with information which the literary historian might weigh and interpret.

And in the third place, I am so far in sympathy with the attack on the genteel tradition as to believe that our definition of American literature has been too narrow. We have confined it too much to *belles lettres*. We have been too much occupied with mediocre lyrics and second-rate essayists to estimate the literary value of the great travel books with which our history abounds. Without being hypnotized into believing that the frontier is a formula which explains everything, we should have the critical courage to see the literary value, the half-conscious poetry in the rich records of our pioneers. We need to be less apologetic about men like Daniel Webster, the only rival of Burke in great oratorical prose, and men like U. S. Grant, the only rival of Julius Cæsar as a writer of military autobiography. We need to re-estimate the line of American historians constituted of some of our finest literary men, and, comparing them with European historians, to see that Motley and Prescott, Parkman and Henry Adams are also in the great tradition. The historian of French literature is

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rightly proud of the memoirs and of letter-writers who adorn French thought; why is it that American literary students never read the letters of Abigail Adams, Fanny Kemble Butler's diaries, Mrs. Chesnutt's *A Diary from Dixie*, John Quincy Adams' *Journal*, the *Diary* of Gideon Welles, or the letters of Charles Eliot Norton? Why does every French schoolboy know something about Pascal, and almost no American schoolboy know anything about Charles Peirce, Josiah Royce, or William James? There are times when in view of these riches I am tempted to indict the whole race of American literary historians for criminal negligence—they have so much to write about, and have touched upon so very little of it!

I have no desire to make the eagle scream. I have no desire to smash idols. I am quite content to believe that Franklin and Emerson, Hawthorne and Whitman, and the rest are classic authors. But I am not content to make American literature revolve around their anemic imitators. These figures deserve an intellectual setting we have mostly failed to give them. We have been told so often that the American mind is a practical mind that we have concluded that it must produce only a thin literature. But a good while ago De Quincey made a distinction between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power, and it is just possible that historians have been trying to add to the sum of American literature by looking for more of it in the wrong place. It is in the literature of knowledge that we excel. Why not therefore make capital of the fact? We are great in our political writers who, according to one perfectly sane British critic, wrote like demi-gods; great in the line of American books which report richly and racily of experience; great in the use of literature for exposition. For literature is not merely poetry and idleness, it is blood, meat, a cause, a purpose, propaganda, wrath, politics, passion; and to letters in this rich human sense we have fairly, and at times even greatly, contributed. Uniting the scientific training which our universities can give, but keeping so far as we can that critical good sense of which Lanson speaks, American students might, it seems to me, truly reinterpret American literature as a richer and stronger thing than our textbooks and our social historians are willing to allow it to be.

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Editorial

The Story of a Publication "Holiday"

On March 4, 1926, *The United States Daily* was born. Its purpose was to bring to the American people a daily record of their government, uncolored by partisanship or personal opinion. It was made possible by the sponsorship of a group of public-spirited citizens representing all political faiths and widely varying fields of endeavor.

Its staff worked laboriously to obtain certain definite standards and when, after seven years, contemporaries passed judgment upon it, it seemed that they had not labored in vain. Typical of the opinions which heartened the paper's sponsors was one voiced by *The Christian Science Monitor,* which alluded to the "high character which it always maintained, the rigid adherence to the rule of accuracy, impartiality, and completeness."

It can be imagined then with what regret it became necessary, in that dark hour a month ago when the wheels of the nation's finance suddenly stopped turning, to announce that *The Daily's* presses must pause and the record of the nation's daily history be interrupted. But its own dark hour proved to be the herald of a new dawn. Announcement of the "publication holiday" brought telegrams and letters from all parts of the country, expressing the hope of early resumption, declaring that the need for *The United States Daily* was greater than ever. Editorial comment from the press of the nation testified to the value of the publication and revealed an interest and concern over its existence that we ourselves had not realized they felt. Pledges for support came in from public-spirited citizens.

Therefore, with renewed faith in our undertaking, we began again. *The United States Daily* appeared on April 11 as a composite issue printing the news of the preceding six days of Government action. It was so arranged as to give the busy reader a comprehensive survey of every important subject of public interest. The result was most gratifying for, following further announcement of the new plan, five thousand persons subscribed to a seventeen-week trial, offered at a dollar. The sixth issue is going to press as I write and the response has already justified the faith which we had in the American public's interest in the affairs of its Government.

And thus the new *United States Daily* is successfully launched as a weekly composite edition, with no

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change in its slogan "all the facts—no opinion" and no variance from its original policy of rigid non-partisanship uncolored by opinion. Certain additions have been made. "The State of the Union Today," a comprehensive summary of the important events of the week, has been added. A similar summary of happenings outside our borders is included in "The Tide of Foreign Affairs." A single article on the outstanding event of the week, set in full perspective and with its historical background, appears in each issue. A series of charts shows graphically the economic and business situation. The news of the activities of Government, both State and Federal, is continued as before.

Nothing in all my years of attempting to further the spread of useful knowledge of Government has been so heartening to me as this experience. It has always been my deep conviction that only through the agency of an informed leadership can representative government be effective. As long as ignorance and indifference characterize the citizen's attitude no government is secure. Of course there can be no sudden cure for misgovernment. But the leaven of intelligent men and women, secure in their facts concerning government, can change indifference to interest, can quicken the electorate to responsiveness. I know of no other more important single thing that the individual can do to make his or her influence count toward improving the calibre of the men and women in office than to keep accurately informed concerning the conduct of public affairs. To bring such information to the public is the function of *The United States Daily*.

In its new form and at its new price, which is within the reach of everyone, we hope it will appeal to a wider public than ever, but its real value lies in its use by the intelligent men and women of America.

DAVID LAWRENCE,
Editor, The United States Daily.

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Practical?

THESE days of testing have tended to revise our idea of the practical. That fad of education which "prepared for real life" by discovering the youngster's "major interest" and giving him a thorough training instead of a "smattering of everything" was never practical, although its impracticality was not revealed unto the wise until it ceased to earn bread and coal. When the youngster, now a college—or rather an apprenticeship—graduate, found himself offered, instead of a chance to begin at the bottom, a position in the breadline as a beggar or at home as a filial parasite, he discovered that he had become so accustomed educationally to an Eskimo diet that he had no stomach for variety in nourishment. Trained for a particular specialty, he was unable to turn his hand or his head to other tasks, for there were and are other tasks if the mind is free and fertile enough to perceive the new opportunities that new conditions always offer.

But not only depression days show up the poverty of over-specialized education. The accelerated advance

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of science and invention has forced thousands to learn new trades. To steal an illustration from President Morgan of Antioch, the hundreds of young men who a few years ago rushed to night school and college adjuncts to prepare for automotive engineering in vain flourished their sheepskins before employers who had concentrated the automobile industry in a few large plants, which required only a few expert engineers.

Assuming, however, that unemployment and vanishing occupations have not bitten the budding expert, he nevertheless will wittingly or unwittingly live in a spiritual prison cell. Even as a specialist he will be anemic through lack of light from the great outside world from which he is shut by deluding walls of practicality.

The crisis sword is two-edged, however, and the other side lays bare the absurdity of the dictum, "Knowledge for its own sake"—Cardinal Newman's *Idea of a University* to the contrary. This, like "Art for Art's sake," is either meaningless verbal camouflage for an interest in man's pleasure, or a timid way of insisting upon the most effective way of winning knowledge for man's sake. In this age, particularly with the prospect of greatly increased leisure, what can be more practical than a liberal education? At least, many are now finding that it helps bar the door against the wolf. Should youth forgive us if we fail, until too late, to convince them of the practicality of the impractical?

WILLIAM ALLISON SHIMER.

"Man Reading"

IDEALLY "Man Reading" sees the whole field of books, case by case, eliminates the unprofitable, and probes the significant. Obviously man reading today loses weeks of non-returning time in sorting out from a series of reviews the permanent from the evanescent. There undoubtedly is a need for such a series of appraisals as make up the book review columns of Sunday sections and of monthlies and quarterlies. They constitute the first step.

The second predicates the first as a necessary and subsidiary service; and on the basis of preliminary findings discovers, out of those books from any given field which have already been determined as good or valuable, the significance of each, not as judged of itself but in its philosophical implications—its power to illuminate, prophesy, or explain in terms of their roots, our actions and continuing compulsions; to guide or construct contemporary trends toward the future; to plunge to the heart of life and thence to look forth, through the medium of a particular field—art, literature, music, science, philosophy —it matters not which.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, endeavoring to work toward a selective ideal, proposes to substitute for its unassorted bibliography of books, articles which study, from each of the fields composing our common interests, those half dozen books not only good but significant.

RUTH E. CAMPBELL.

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More Than a Library

LOUIS WRIGHT

In a recent essay Mr. Abraham Flexner once more calls the universities to repentance for the democratic irrelevance of much of their teaching. He is grieved at the confusion of "service" with learning and like other thoughtful critics he laments that our highest institutions of learning, by inclination or necessity, have often gone clowning before the multitude and have taken their place among other forms of American entertainment. As Mr. Flexner sees it, learning has been so diluted with the concerns of democratic mediocrity that the institutions supposed to foster it are failing in their obligation.

When Henry Edwards Huntington, railway magnate and collector, died in 1927, he had brought together a vast collection of books, manuscripts, and pictures, which he had placed in his home and in a library building erected for the purpose on his estate at San Marino, California. It is not generally known that Mr. Huntington's collecting gradually took shape around a central idea which came to dominate his buying and his later foundation—that of the value to future ages of material which would illustrate the development of English and American culture and civilization. With enormous means at his disposal Mr. Huntington assembled what he hoped might become a great depository of records of Anglo-Saxon civilization.

Circumstances favored his undertaking. During the years when Mr. Huntington was most actively buying, a series of great libraries came on the market, thus enabling him to procure in large quantities books which had been gradually assembled over long periods. The Bridgewater House Library, founded by Sir Thomas Egerton, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal under Queen Elizabeth, and augmented by his descendants, is a notable illustration of this type of collection. In this library, which included both manuscripts and printed books, there are many presentation copies of works by Elizabethan writers, occasionally with interesting marginalia. Especially noteworthy for its sixteenth and seventeenth century pamphlets, many of which would have perished except for the examples preserved by the Egerton family, the Bridgewater collection is rich in documents and books valuable to the historian. For example, one little folio in manuscript is filled with papers relating to the Hudson's Bay Company; a manuscript report describes the condition of the English navy in 1626; correspondence, diplomatic and private, throws valuable light on the life and

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times of the periods covered. Among the spectacular items acquired from this library were the famous Ellesmere manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and numerous quartos of famous writers of the Elizabethan and later periods, including Shakespeare, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Milton, and scores of their contemporaries. For the student of English drama a most valuable portion of the Bridgewater material is the Larpent Collection of about 2500 manuscript plays, formed by John Larpent, inspector of plays for the Lord Chamberlain between the years 1778 and 1824 (though the manuscripts cover the years 1737 to 1824), interspersed with occasional correspondence concerning the licensing of plays which were thought by the inspector unfit for production.

The Bridgewater House Library is only one illustration of many similar libraries bought and fused into Mr. Huntington's own collection. Among the valuable collections acquired were the Elihu Dwight Church Library, which contained the unique copy of *The Booke of the General Lavves . . . of the Massachusets* (1648); the Beverly Chew Library of early English poetry, with rare Spenser items; the Kemble-Devonshire collection, with nearly 4000 plays and 111 volumes of playbills of the Drury Lane Theater between 1750 and 1782 and Covent Garden Theater between 1760 and 1831; the Britwell Court Library of Americana; the Battle Abbey papers, containing documents dating from the time of William the Conqueror; collections of important English family papers and documents like the Stowe and Hastings-Huntingdon papers, covering several centuries; collections of Americana centering around figures like Washington, Lincoln, and others; collections dealing with the history of California and the Southwest; several collections of incunabula which give the Huntington Library the largest number in America of books printed before 1500. To list and describe briefly the separate libraries and collections bought by Mr. Huntington seventy-two pages in the first issue of the *Huntington Library Bulletin* were needed.

Though acquired in large units, collections have not remained undigested segments in the Huntington Library, but have become integral sections of the large library, reorganized for use by scholars, while unnecessary duplicates have been sold. The Huntington Library, in short, has been designed, not as a collector's accumulation of literary curiosities, but as a laboratory where students might find the important materials for a study of our culture-history.

Once the source material had been accumulated, the next step in the development of a library into something more than a depository of books was Mr. Huntington's creation of a foundation to give his library an active rather than a passive existence. To that end Dr. Max Farrand, a historian identified with many research undertakings, was invited in 1927 to become director of research in charge of the entire institution under a board of trustees, into whose hands the affairs of the foundation had already been placed. The members of the present board are Henry M. Robin-

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son, George E. Hale, Archer M. Huntington, Robert A. Millikan, and Henry S. Pritchett, all men chosen because of their interest in the broader concerns of learning. Since 1927 the director and trustees have been organizing the resources of the Library to serve the interests of scholarship. Specialists in history and literature from the leading institutions of England and America have come to the Library to study its materials and to advise as to their best use. Slowly the plans for a library which is more than a collection of books, which is an active force in scholarship, have matured.

A group of scholars, chosen because their interests and abilities coincide with the collected materials, is being gradually brought together to compose a permanent research staff. To them the Library says: "We believe that your undertakings promise a worth while contribution to the advancement of learning in history and literature. We will provide the opportunity for you to work unhampered by distractions."

The members of the staff will be expected to supplement their research with work in other institutions whenever necessity demands. No pressure will be brought to hasten the completion of a task, to put into print books to prove that the Huntington Library is busy. It has no desire to encourage the multiplication of super-doctoral theses. It does wish to stimulate literary and historical studies charged with something vital and significant.

In addition to bringing together a staff of research workers who will have a permanent connection with the institution, similar to that of the faculty of a university, the Huntington Library plans to stimulate scholarship further by continuing to appoint research associates, mature scholars who will be invited for shorter periods. Already the result of this policy is obvious in many recent works which acknowledge an indebtedness to the Library's generosity. To promising young scholars the Library also plans to lend encouragement. But here the scriptural injunction, that to him that hath shall be given, will be rigidly followed, for the Library is not interested in young scholars as such, but in scholarship, in the value of the work which the scholar may complete by reason of the Library's help. The scholar of ideas and ability, who has already proved his capacity for sound thinking in the field of English and American culture-history, will find the Huntington Library an institution which will not only open its books and manuscripts to him, but will provide the means for him to spend a year or even more in undisturbed study.

Although the Library will maintain a group of scholars invited to use its books and manuscripts, these materials will not, of course, be reserved for the exclusive use of those favored with invitations. Always the competent scholar will be welcome and every facility for research will be freely available to him. From universities throughout the country, advanced students are coming in increasing numbers to supplement work in their own libraries. Every vacation brings faculty members from other institutions. The sole restriction placed upon recognized students is that unique material must not be

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published without the formal permission of the Library, a rule designed to prevent improper exploitation of rare books and manuscripts and invoked only to serve the best interests of scholarship.

A conception of scholarship akin to the Renaissance humanist's ideal lies back of the Huntington Library's research program. Of late the word *research* has become a term with which to juggle. Barbers advertise the results of research on falling hair, and promoters reassure timid investors with a panoply of statistics, somehow called up, like a familiar spirit from the deep, by the sound and fury of the word. Research is the appellation given arid treatises done by harassed candidates for the doctorate. Yet upon careful and painstaking research rest the foundations of learning; it is the basis of criticism which maintains its perspective. The research worker must have an insatiable thirst after those facts, thoroughly and accurately collected, which must precede his generalizations. But those facts must be weighed in what Francis Bacon described as the "dry light" of understanding, and interpreted in relation to each other and to the whole of knowledge. Learning in its highest manifestations is interpretative, and the Huntington Library wishes to encourage the interpretation of history and literature in relation to the development of our civilization.

Such a goal is not the work of a single individual nor can it be attained in a year or a decade. The Huntington Library will not have a set number of posts which must be kept filled. It will invite such scholars as fit into its program to join its group. If, in the year of grace 1933, two, or three, or five, or ten men should be found, eager and capable to pursue the work considered vital by the institution, presumably they might be invited to join its staff. If such men are not found in that year, perhaps they may be in the next, or the next after that, or a decade hence. Learning, like the Church, can afford to await the attainment of its ends.

Meantime the Huntington Library will continue to develop its resources. When the founder died he left one of the richest private collections in the world, but in his zeal for the collection of original sources he did not bother with secondary matter, the innumerable reference works and collateral material necessary to make the original material usable. As every librarian knows, the task of gathering this secondary matter is never done, but as rapidly as its means permit the Library is filling in the materials demanded by the scholar.

Capitalistic America has had few apologists. Those who would justify its great fortunes would do well to emphasize the enduring things which wealth has created. Like the merchant princes and rulers of city-states in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, the wisest of them have turned to something more enduring. A few have sought an immortality in the cultivation of letters and art. The learning fostered by their foundations will be remembered, perhaps, long after other relics of our civilization have vanished. A few great philanthropists have turned from those agencies which merely minister to the welfare of man and have placed their faith in more intangible enter-

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prises. Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of Oxford's great library, is known today wherever men seek knowledge, while many a contemporary, equally generous, who founded hospitals and almshouses, is forgotten. The humanists of the Renaissance would understand the spirit which created a living library, an institution of pure learning, untouched by any thought of earthy utilitarianism. Faustus, rejecting the paltry ends of conventional knowledge which merely served dull men's desires, would find the spirit of research perpetuated in a great library akin to his alluring magic.

The advancement of pure learning will not furnish material for the front pages of newspapers. The work of the Huntington Library will not be heralded with a blare of trumpets. Salvation and reform will not emanate from its doors. But a group of workers, inspired solely by a zeal to know, will through the years continue to widen its influence, stimulating a small but potent group who make up the fraternity of scholarship.

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Can We Afford to Educate Our Children?

WILLIAM G. CARR

Director, Research Division, National Education Association

THE problem generally faced by the public schools at the present moment may be concisely summarized: *increased responsibilities; decreased resources*. The responsibilities are shown by the unusually rapid increase in school enrolment due to the depression. In practically every community hundreds or thousands of young men and women, unable to find work, are continuing their training in the public schools and preparing themselves for the opportunities which will open before them when more prosperous times return. It is well that they do so since if the ratio of school enrolment to school population which prevailed in 1920 were unchanged today nearly 2 million additional young people would be added to the competition for jobs.

Education has carried a significant share of the general retrenchment in public expenditures, and such retrenchment cannot continue indefinitely if the schools are to perform with reasonable success their important functions for increasing numbers of children.

The unsupported assertion that education is costing too much is best answered by referring to such facts as these: that schools have never absorbed as much as 4 per cent of the national income; that the proportion of the national income devoted to public education remained practically constant for a decade prior to 1929; that the proportion of municipal expenditures devoted to education is lower now than at any time since 1922; that America spends about 4½ times as much for passenger automobiles as it does for public schools; that effective public schools are essential to the welfare of our country; and that funds for public education have been, on the whole, wisely and intelligently expended.

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In 1930 public education received 3.3 per cent of the national income and was, in a sense, lucky in that year in getting a little larger proportion of the national income than formerly. For at least 10 years prior to 1929 the standard dole for education was 2.4 per cent of the national income, the fable to the contrary that education has been receiving a steadily increasing share of the national income. Since 1930 the national income and school expenditures have shrunk greatly. Whether or not the two have contracted in proportion it is impossible at present to say.

Public schools of all kinds, elementary, secondary, and collegiate, in 1930 cost a little over 2½ billion dollars. The cost per student in elementary and secondary schools was about 60 cents per day. In the same year the American people spent 3½ billion dollars for life insurance, nearly 6 billions for building construction, and nearly 12 billions for passenger automobiles. The bill for tobacco and the bill for schools were about equal. The following comparative table approaches the same problem with a different set of figures.

All public schools	$1.00
Elementary and secondary schools	.87
Educational institutions of collegiate grade	.13
Life insurance premiums	1.35
Building construction	2.22
Passenger automobiles	4.52

Caution must be exercised in comparing expenditures for public education with those for other purposes, since there is no economic magic whereby factories built for the production of certain types of commodities and services can be converted overnight into schoolhouses. In the long run, however, since expenditures for schools return high dividends from the increased productive ability and general intelligence of the people, a wisely planned social and economic order will provide ways and means by which the economic resources devoted to various commodities and services will bear a close relationship to the relative social and human values of these commodities and services.

For various reasons school costs have increased 1,766 millions since 1914. In the first place the purchasing power of the dollar varies from year to year, and in 1930 was less than in 1914. The same food which could be purchased in 1914 for $1 cost $1.36 in 1930, and clothing that would have cost $1 in 1914 cost $1.54 in 1930. Simply because of this change in the value of money, the cost of operating the 1930 school program was about 860 million dollars more than the cost of the same school program in 1914. In the second place, in the elementary schools attendance increased 44 per cent between 1914 and 1930, and in the high schools increased 339 per cent in the same period. More than 482 million dollars of the increase in cost of schools from 1914 to 1930 is due to the much larger attendance. At the same time the average school term was lengthened by 14 days.

Finally, the quality of most American products and services is improving. This is certainly true of education. Teachers are better trained, the curriculum has been expanded to include much-needed subjects, a higher

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type of equipment is provided, there are fewer pupil failures, educational opportunity has been greatly enriched. An increase of 423 million dollars is chargeable to these improved school services—but this is less than a fourth of the total increase in the cost during the period from 1914 to 1930.

In round numbers, then, in 1930 schools cost $4.20 for every $1.00 that they cost in 1914. The additional $3.20 may be roughly acounted for thus: *cheaper money*, $1.56; *more children for a longer time*, 87 cents; *improvements of all kinds*, 77 cents.

Twenty years from now the present economic difficulties will be history. Whatever direction our civilization takes from the present—forward, backward, or sidewise—we shall in 1953 need a well-educated citizenship, a future citizenship which at this moment is nearly all in the public schools.

No program to recover and to stabilize prosperity can be complete unless primary consideration is given to the conservation and development of the nation's human resources as represented in the rising generation. The effects of the depression on employment, on marketing, on production, on consumption, on relief work, on wage scales, are of universal interest and importance. These immediate and urgent problems rightly absorb much of the thought of the American people and their leaders. But from the far-sighted point of view one crucial problem and only one stands out as basic—the effect of current economic conditions on the welfare of the childhood and youth of the nation. The schools hold large responsibilities in this field. The present generation will gradually be replaced by young people; the children of today must become the workers, the leaders, the citizens of tomorrow. Their health, their wisdom, their social and cultural ideals will set the limit to which the United States can advance in the years ahead.

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The Wellesley Institute for Social Progress

KATHARINE C. BALDERSTON

Department of English Literature, Wellesley College

A UNIQUE educational experiment will be tried on the Wellesley College Campus next July when an Institute for Social Progress will meet for two weeks to discuss "Our Economic Future, its Direction and Control." The personnel of the Institute, which will include both men and women, will represent a cross-section of our national economic life, including professional men and women, owners of businesses and farms, house-wives, clerical workers, and workers in industry. There will be no formal admission requirements, but the Board of Admissions, in passing on applicants, will select those who show a genuine interest in the economic situation and a desire to find practical ways for making lay opinion effective in creating a better economic order.

The program, which will be conducted partly by lectures and partly by round-table discussions, is planned in such a way that the vocational

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groups will sometimes meet together to discuss the peculiar problems of their own groups, and sometimes will meet in cross-sections. By this method the conclusions of each group will be tested by exchange of views, and criticism, from members of the other groups, and every member will have the chance to discover how the present economic dilemma affects people in other walks of life. In every case the round-tables will be conducted by leaders who know how to translate the language of economic theory into the terms of human experience, and who know concretely the problems of the group they are leading. Realistic and practical conclusions will be aimed for.

The Governing Board, made up of Wellesley alumnæ and outstanding men and women in the outside world, hope that the Institute will achieve such constructive results by this method of pooling group experience that it will become a model for similar Institutes in other places.

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Student Strikes in Foreign Lands

STEPHEN P. DUGGAN

Director, Institute of International Education

THE so-called "strike" of students at Columbia University last April and a little later the movement of students from various parts of the country upon Harlan County, Kentucky, in support of the striking coal miners in that region suggest a comparison between student activities in the field of national, political, and economic affairs in the United States and in foreign lands.

The "strike" at Columbia was caused by the dismissal of a student. As editor of a student newspaper he had severely criticized the university administration for its lenient attitude towards what he maintained were dishonest practices in football supervision. Since the administrator who had decided upon the expulsion of the student was known to American educators generally as one of the most liberal figures in university life in the United States, it was assumed—and the assumption proved true—that there were other reasons for the expulsion than the editorials in the college paper. What is important for our subject, however, is, first, that a strike took place at all. Students have been expelled from American universities for far less reason than in this case without any great protest upon the part of their colleagues. Moreover, a strike occasioned by a controversy over football would rouse only contempt upon the part of students in Latin America or China, where student influence upon public affairs is greatest. In the second place, it was interesting that the Columbia "strike" should have divided the student body as it did. Practically as many students saw no curtailment of free speech in the dismissal as the number which protested. A third interesting aspect was that the "strike" was treated jocosely in the headlines of the chief newspapers of New York. Latin American or Chinese newspapers would have written up a similar event seriously and in dead earnest. Here it was looked upon as a new form of

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ebullition of student spirit, and was soon forgotten.

The movement in support of the Kentucky striking miners was viewed very differently throughout the country. In the conservative press it was regarded as an evidence of the Bolshevist spirit that, it was claimed, dominated many students, and a demand was made for greater control of the teaching of radical professors. Among liberals and especially among thoughtful students it was regarded as a hopeful sign that the era of the rah-rah boy primarily interested in football and similar extra-curricular activities was drawing to a close. The hope was expressed that the serious attitude of European students towards the pressing political, economic, and social problems confronting their countries would become the attitude of American students also, and that their voice might be heard in the development of public opinion concerning these problems.

The interest of the students in the striking miners of Harlan County, Kentucky, is a nearer approach to the attitude of students towards the proletariat in the so-called "backward" countries than in the European countries. The students of the former countries are radical in their attitude towards social and economic problems. They sympathize with the workers, espouse their cause in labor disputes, and are often leaders in their strikes. The result is that the students usually have the support of the laborers in their pronouncements upon political questions and in their strikes to realize political objectives. In Europe student strikes seldom occur except in eastern and central Europe and then, unfortunately, almost exclusively for narrowly nationalistic ends, such as opposition to the rights of minorities. Sometimes, indeed, they degenerate into such anti-Semitic riots as have recently disgraced some of them. In western and northern Europe until after the War students usually came from the more privileged classes, were conservative in their outlook, and had little to do with the workers. The economic depression, however, affected very seriously the classes from which students came to the university. Moreover, the democratizing movement that followed immediately upon the close of the War sent students to the universities from classes that had not been numerously represented before. The result has been a much deeper interest in economic and social problems and a greater degree of friendliness between students and workers. For example, both these groups are found in large numbers in the ranks of the Hitler movement in Germany.

The part played by tradition in the civilization and culture of a people is nowhere more fully exemplified than in the matter of student influence in China and Latin America. Through the ages down to the twentieth century the place of highest social distinction and honor in Chinese civilization was awarded to the scholar. He formed the ruling class; he decided the nature of public opinion. The reform movement initiated after the Boxer rebellion in 1900 and intensified under the Republic abolished the old examination system and introduced Western culture, with the emphasis upon the place of science in education. But the esteem in which

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the literati had formerly been held was not lessened and since the student incarnated the new education, the voice of the student in public affairs carried with the Chinese people a weight which is a matter of astonishment to the average foreigner. Moreover this was deservedly so. In the disintegration of old standards under the impact of Western culture and political pressure, a great deal of dishonor characterized Chinese political life. Many leaders did not hesitate to sell out to the enemies of their country, whether of the domestic or foreign variety. The chief deterrents to such action were the student riots that were sure to follow throughout the country. A riot often terminated in such drastic measures upon the part of the students as to put the fear of God into the hearts of the politicians. If China is today rampant with nationalism and patriotism it is primarily due to the teaching of her students, a teaching which they absorbed from Western nations, particularly the United States.

A similar attitude towards public affairs has characterized the students of the Latin American countries. During the three centuries of the Spanish régime the colonials were permitted no share in the government and when independence came they were unprepared to administer their countries' affairs. The history of nearly all the Latin American countries during almost the entire nineteenth century is the recurrent story of one military dictator ousting by force another military dictator and installing himself and his friends in control. But independence in Latin America was preceded in time by the French Revolution, and that great movement made a deep impression upon Latin American thought. Not only were the twin principles of nationalism and democracy accepted at least in name, but the romantic movement in literature and life inaugurated by the Revolution has not even yet spent its force. Students, inspired by the romantic movement, have always regarded themselves as the custodians of the national welfare and particularly of the national honor. This feeling has been so strengthened by time that today in Latin America as in China no group has greater influence in molding public opinion and determining political action than the student body. Student pronouncements on current political issues receive careful attention from government officials. So fearful have dictators at times become of student influence that they have shut up the universities for months at a time, even in some cases as long as two years. In most of the Latin American countries in which revolutions took place in 1930, especially those directed against dictators, the students were the initiators. In some, students laid down their lives for what they considered their patriotic duty, as in Santiago, Chile, in the initial revolution of 1930, where the students led the march on La Moneda, the government palace, a march in which several were killed. In the resulting turmoil, the students for three days manned the government activities, including policing the streets and directing traffic. Law and order were maintained, the violent elements of the population were kept in restraint, and there was an entire

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absence of looting. Americans might profit by comparing that record with what took place in Boston during the police strike of 1919.

It would be gratifying to be able to leave this description of student uprisings in China and Latin America upon the fine patriotic plane just described, but that would not tell the whole story. Not all their student strikes are motivated and conducted on such a plane. The strike has frequently degenerated into an interference with university administration that is deplorable. Such demands as that a vacation be extended, or an examination superseded, or that courses be eliminated or duplicated are common. Political professors and even politicians outside the university are sometimes behind student movements. In most universities the students have secured representation upon the university council. In some universities in Latin America they hold one-third of the votes and virtually control the administration. It is obvious what a hindrance the frequent student strikes in China and Latin America are to a student's studies, especially in a professional or technical faculty. The student strike is like a revolution, the work of an aggressive minority. It has become an evil. Whether it is a greater evil than those against which it sometimes inveighs is difficult for a foreigner to say. Certainly politics should be driven out of educational affairs, particularly university affairs. A people that witnessed a few years ago the dismissal of an upright superintendent of schools on the demand of such a political demagogue as Mayor Thompson of Chicago or the dismissal of professors from their chairs in the state university by a stupid governor of Mississippi understands that need. But these occurrences are not usual in the United States and bring a storm of disapproval and often retribution upon the offenders. That is not so in China and in most of the Latin American countries.

Because of the frequency and influence of student strikes in those regions I have taken China and Latin America as illustrations. But Americans are familiar with the part played by students in the nationalist movement in India. And I might have cited Egypt or even our own dependency, the Philippines, where until recently student demonstrations have formed a significant part of the independence movement.

It is obvious that the university, its professors, and students play a larger part in the political and social life of most other countries than with us. Moreover, there can hardly be any question that the college student in the United States pays too much attention to athletics and extra-curricular activities generally. It is true that those activities teach him the necessity of self-effacement, of cooperation, of accepting defeat gracefully—moral qualities not found to a like extent in most students in non-European countries. Moreover, the extra-curricular activities are to a great extent responsible for the initiative and self-reliance that have generally characterized the American college graduate. But, until recently, I believe he has been lacking in two life values that a college experience ought to build—intellectual disci-

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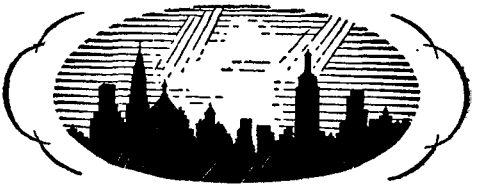

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pline and a responsibility to the social whole. Fortunately student life in the United States is daily becoming directed to more mature and worth while objectives. The change in administration of our most progressive colleges whereby the student body, by means of the Student Council, supervises student activities and even participates in certain features of college administration, such as matters of discipline and in some colleges of advising on curricular change, is all in the direction of a finer preparation for life in a democratic community. Further, emphasis is more and more being placed upon intellectual discipline as one of the chief purposes of college education. The prevailing economic depression which has resulted in thousands of college graduates being unemployed and in a jobless start for thousands of young college graduates has turned their attention to questions of social justice. These are the predominant topics of discussion at student gatherings, and students will in all probability attempt to influence their solution by the method of discussion rather than by the strike.

. . .

The Yale-Harvard Law-Business Course

CHARLES E. CLARK
Dean of the School of Law, Yale University

A SHORT time ago a representative of one of the great metropolitan dailies called me on the telephone, apparently in some trepidation. A report had come into the office, so the speaker said, that Harvard and Yale were about to merge, and he as a Harvard graduate wished to know if there was any truth in the rumor, and what the two governing bodies of these universities were up to. As it happened, the rumor had a partial basis in fact, since it concerned the institution of a joint course in law and business to be conducted by the Yale University School of Law and the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, beginning next fall.

Such joint venture between two universities seems to be rather exceptional, although there is apparently no reason why it should be. If schools have developed different techniques for approaching problems of some similarity where the work of one can well supplement the other, there is no apparent reason why such cooperation may not occur even though the schools may be situated on different campuses. Here the representatives of each school thought that the other had something unique to contribute and the joint project followed.

The close connection of law and business has long been understood. It is regarded as quite within the tradition for a lawyer to step out of his profession and become a business man, a manufacturer, a banker, or a railroad president. Moreover, much of modern law practice is in itself largely business. The great law firms of metropolitan centers are looked upon as financial factories, places where the corporate spirit of the age finds its formal legal expression and its machinery of financing. The smaller law firm of the ordinary community also has its share of business practice. That

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the well-trained lawyer should have a wide professional knowledge of the various forms of business activities is a veritable truism. To date, however, except for limited and special types of courses in comparatively few schools, no attempt has been made to supply him with such training. It is to this end that the new course is directed.

Beginning next fall a selected group of young college graduates will be admitted to the combined course. The first year of study at the Yale School of Law in New Haven will be devoted to a consideration of the usual first year law subjects, with such modifications as may seem desirable to supply the business background of the topics studied. In first year seminar groups research will be encouraged on legal problems affected with a business interest. The second year, spent in residence at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, will likewise deal with business fundamentals, such as Production, Marketing, and Finance, and auxiliary subjects including Accounting, Statistics, and Public Utility Economics.

The last two years at the Yale School of Law will be devoted to a modified form of legal training, emphasizing problems of modern business. In these last years, moreover, representatives of both faculties will jointly give several courses, two of which will be of critical importance in the combined program. One will be a course in Business Policy, devised to correlate the materials and points of view of the several business courses previously studied and to promote a re-examination and modification of elementary generalization from this broad angle. The other course will be designed to correlate the business with the legal training further to protect students from acquiring two educations without discovering their basic interrelationships.

The course will, therefore, be a four year course and a student while studying at either school will be subject to the tuition charges and other regulations of the school where he is currently in residence. Upon completion of the combined course the students will be awarded the degree of Bachelor of Laws by Yale University. Suitable recognition of the business training will also be provided.

In addition to the training thus provided for a particular class of professional students, both schools look upon the project as a promising experiment to which both contribute and from which both will gain by an exchange of professional knowledge. The experimental type of work in law carried on at the Yale Law School and the unique developments at the Harvard Business School in the case study of business analogous to the similar study of law make this cooperation especially easy. Many business executives and lawyers have commented favorably on the venture and a great deal of interest will attend its development and results.

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A Festival of Music

WITHOUT a break for forty years a May festival of music has been held at the University of Michigan. Modern choral music, symphonies and concertos of old masters, seldom heard works, and an evening

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devoted to the works of Richard Wagner in commemoration of his death fifty years ago, compositions of Tchaikovsky, Moussorgsky, Strauss, Verdi, Mozart, Gluck, Haydn, Brahms, Grainger, Sibelius, and Bach are all listed. The festival will be balanced and varied both in its programs and its participating artists, with several such notable features as its two-piano recital given by Guy Maier and Lee Patterson; and the world première performance of an American opera, *Merry Mount*, which, though originally written by Howard Hanson for presentation at the Metropolitan Opera House, is making its début performance at Ann Arbor because of delay in its New York appearances. The composer has found choral passages brilliant yet appropriate to the early Puritan life he has depicted.

The virtuoso musicians appearing on the festival program—Lucrezia Bori, Grete Stueckgold, Leonora Corona, Rose Bampton, and Frederick Jagel, all of the Metropolitan Opera Association; Jascha Heifetz; the organist, Palmer Christian; Frederick Stock and Eric DeLamater, conducting the Chicago Symphony; Earl V. Moore, Musical Director; and Howard Hanson, Guest Conductor; together with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra which will play at all concerts, of course contribute notably to the beauty and breadth of the festival.

But almost more important than this for musicianship and musical appreciation are the parts taken in the programs by amateur groups—the Young People's Chorus, which is singing, among other things, Harvey Gaul's *Spring Rapture;* and the University Choral Union which, in company with the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, is presenting William Walton's oratorio, *Belshazzar's Feast*, a work heard only twice before in America—in Boston under the direction of Serge Koussevitsky, March 30 and April 1, 1933.

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Phi Beta Kappa Contributors to This Issue

Katharine Balderston, Wellesley 1916.
Charles E. Clark, Yale 1911.
Stephen P. Duggan, College of the City of New York 1930.
S. E. Harris, Princeton 1917.
Addison Hibbard, Northwestern 1931.
Alvin Johnson, Nebraska 1897.
Howard Mumford Jones, Wisconsin 1914.
James Kendall, New York University 1928.
Henry Raymond Mussey, Beloit 1911.
Henry Neumann, College of the City of New York 1900.

NOTE.—*Authors omitted from the March issue:*
Felix S. Cohen, C.C.N.Y. 1926.
Harley Lutz, Oberlin 1908.

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Discussion

A Rejoinder to Mr. Bell

RUFUS E. MILES, JR.

MR. BELL'S "Private Thoughts of a Pedagogue" in the January issue of *The American Scholar* revived memories of the unmitigated censure to which American colleges and universities submitted in the middle of the last decade, when college courses were growing as fast as golf courses and student bodies were increasing at about the same rate as country club memberships. By implication Mr. Bell looks with much envy upon scholarship as it is practiced in Europe, and one might reasonably infer that he would have us emulate it. While I am much in sympathy with many of the criticisms which Mr. Bell levels at American education, I find it difficult to let this implication slip by unchallenged.

The old-fashioned scholar who still thrives in Europe should no longer be worshipped. Let me describe him, and may I be excused if he be slightly in caricature? Professor Q came from a well-to-do English family. At an early age he was tutored in Latin and Greek and later went to the continent to study French and German. He took piano lessons until he entered Oxford at 16 and because of lack of time he gave that up. He was well disciplined in mathematics and physics as well as the classics, mastering differential equations, functional analysis, and vector analysis. His main interest, however, he found to be in the Greek classics. He wrote his doctor's dissertation on "Sappho's Use of Adjectives," the merit of which was promptly recognized, and he was given a seat in the classical languages at Edinburgh. He served well in this capacity for forty years, adding from time to time to his published works another commentary on some phase of Greek literature. Professor Q was recognized as the world authority on Sappho. After his passing he was eulogized by his dozen fellows as one of the great scholars of the world.

Such a man certainly had "facility in the pursuit of the imponderables" and undoubtedly enjoyed "the good life." Yet I question the value of encouraging the best minds among us to pursue lives like that. His life was that of a "rugged individualist" in the intellectual field. He studied what to him seemed great and immortal without considering the welfare of the society he lived in. He was thoughtful of his housekeeper and kind to his butcher, but half the city of Glasgow might be starving fifty miles away, and on he would plod with Sappho, in complete oblivion. This, I say, is "rugged individualism." It is less deliberately selfish than economic individualism, to be sure, but it may be no less detrimental

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to a highly interdependent society. Life has become so complex and precarious that we need all of the very best minds to determine our social objectives and to assume active leadership in achieving them. This is not a task for the old-fashioned scholar but for a new type. The hoary and honorable scholar of yore is an anachronism.

The vicissitudes of the present demand that two qualities, especially, be added to the commendable passion for exactitude and rigorous mental discipline of the old-type scholar. The first of these is social idealism. It is as important that a scholar be committed to the furtherance of social well-being, that he be endowed with social purpose and social vision, as it is that his mind be rigorously disciplined. This carries with it the implication of a set of values which would place a life spent in achieving even one of the more banal of our social objectives, such as the distribution to every one of a modicum of the material things of life, on a higher plane than a life spent in the study of Sappho's use of adjectives.

The second of these qualities is more difficult to phrase. Broadly speaking, it is a sense of time. More explicitly, it is the development of sound judgment as to the most effective ways of reaching the social objectives decided upon. It might, perhaps, be called strategy. Both this quality and that of social purpose involve a highly developed sense of proportion. That is what the scholars of the classical type have lacked.

Far be it from me to hold a brief for American education. Its shortcomings are many and various, but in this one respect, at least, the signs of the times are promising. In America we are consciously trying in some of the more progressive colleges and universities to turn out students who possess these two additional attributes essential to twentieth century scholars. In this regard I hazard the opinion that American education is superior to European. This should be chalked up to our credit and should not be lost sight of in any revamping of our educational system.

Philosophically considered, individualism in scholarship is highly desirable. Who knows—perhaps we should be better off as individuals if we were anarchists, if we were not knit closely into a social organization but had instead a high degree of independence. And who but an individualist scholar would find it out? But I submit that publicly supported individualism in scholarship is an inconsistency. For a social organization as such to spend its energy in developing scholars who may be of no use to that social structure, who may even be inimical to its growth, seems like a rather illogical procedure. It is as if a father, frantically engaged in building a house to protect his flock of a dozen children from the approaching winter, encouraged his two oldest and strongest sons to study butterflies. As head of the family it is up to him to do what is to the best interest of that family. The same holds true, it seems to me, for a social organization. Let us as a society bend our efforts toward the creation of social-minded scholars. There will always be individualist scholars, but to design our public education system for them is an anomaly.

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